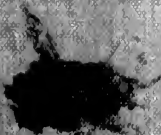


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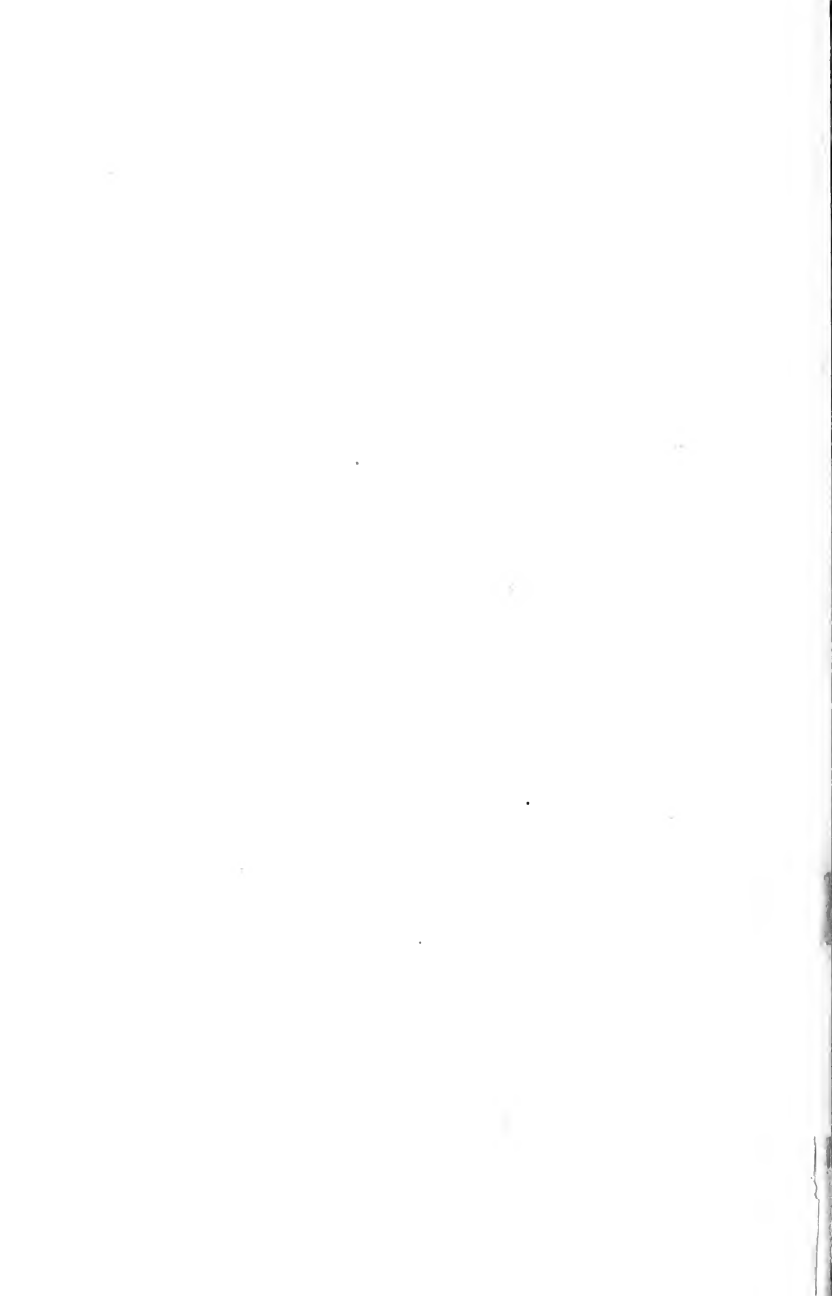


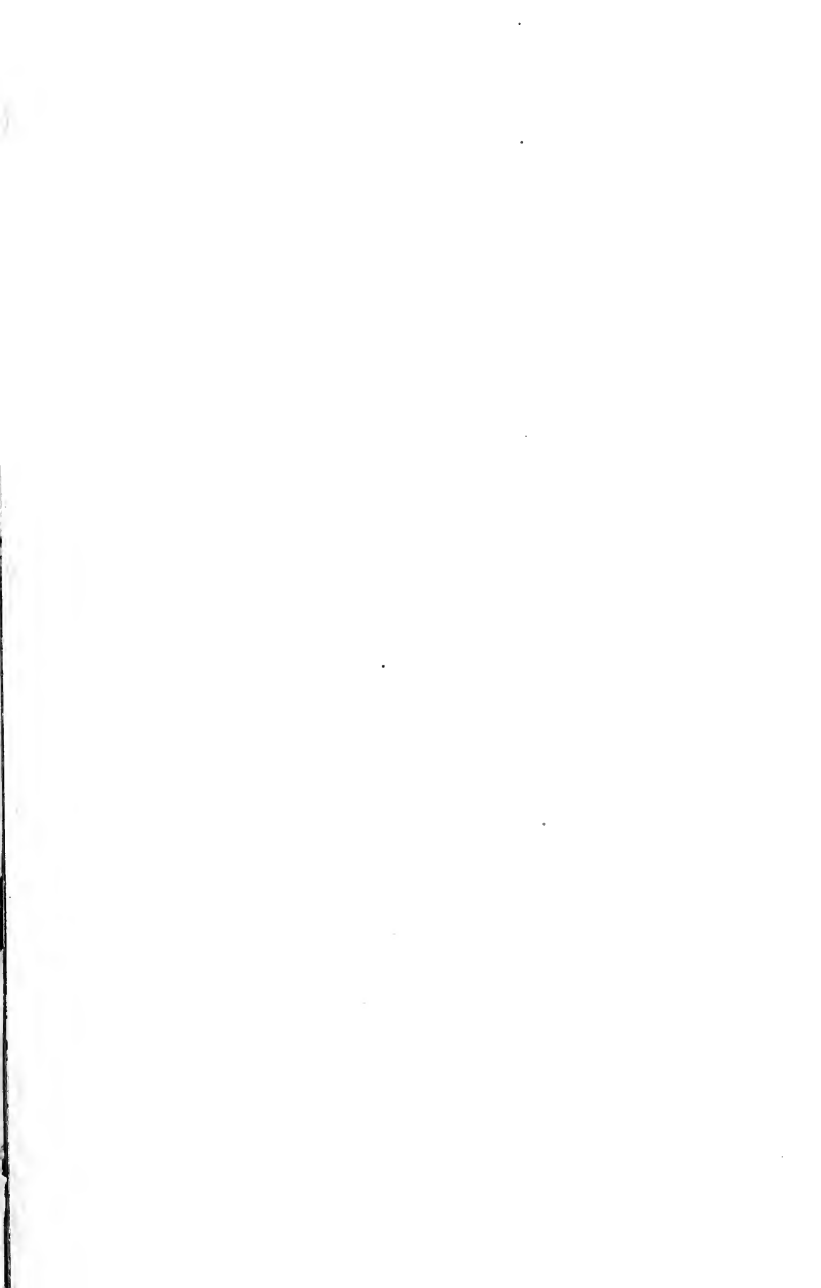


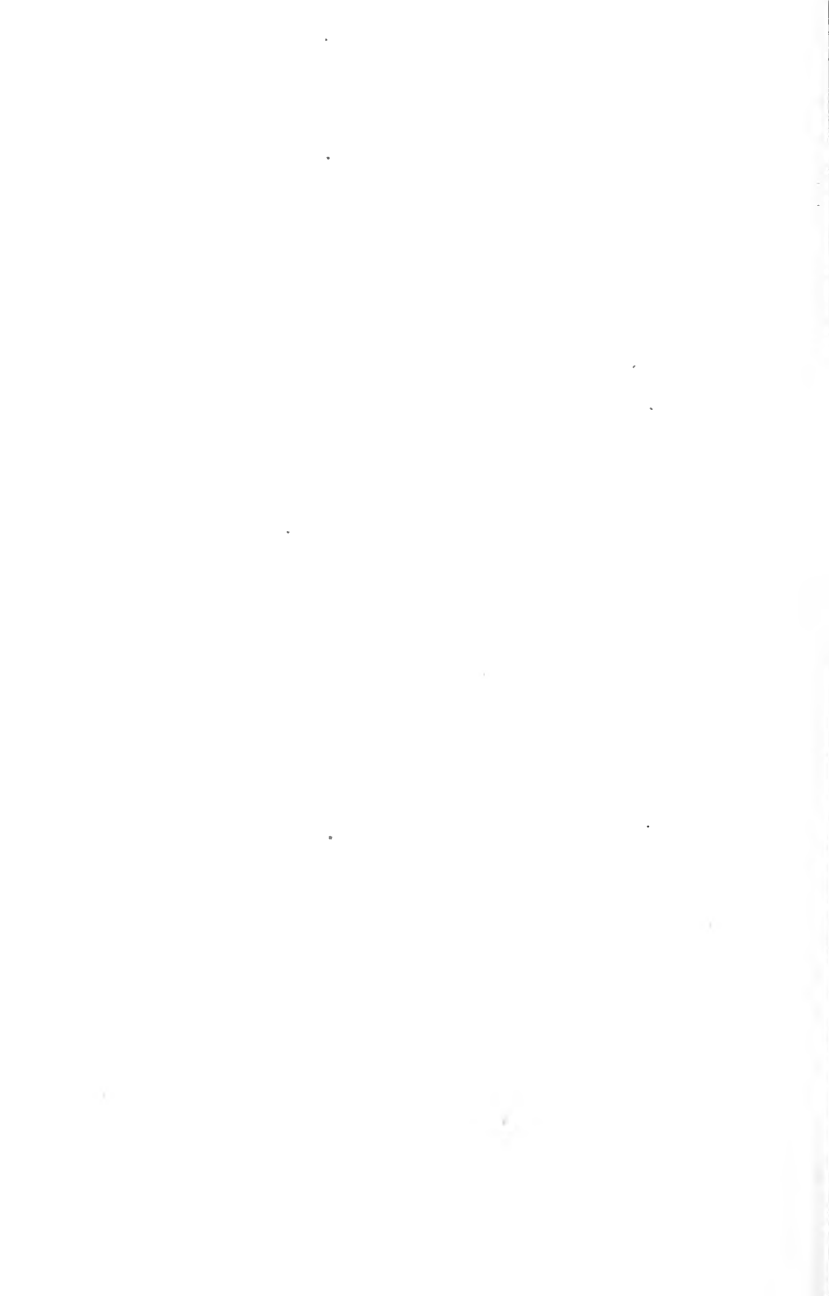
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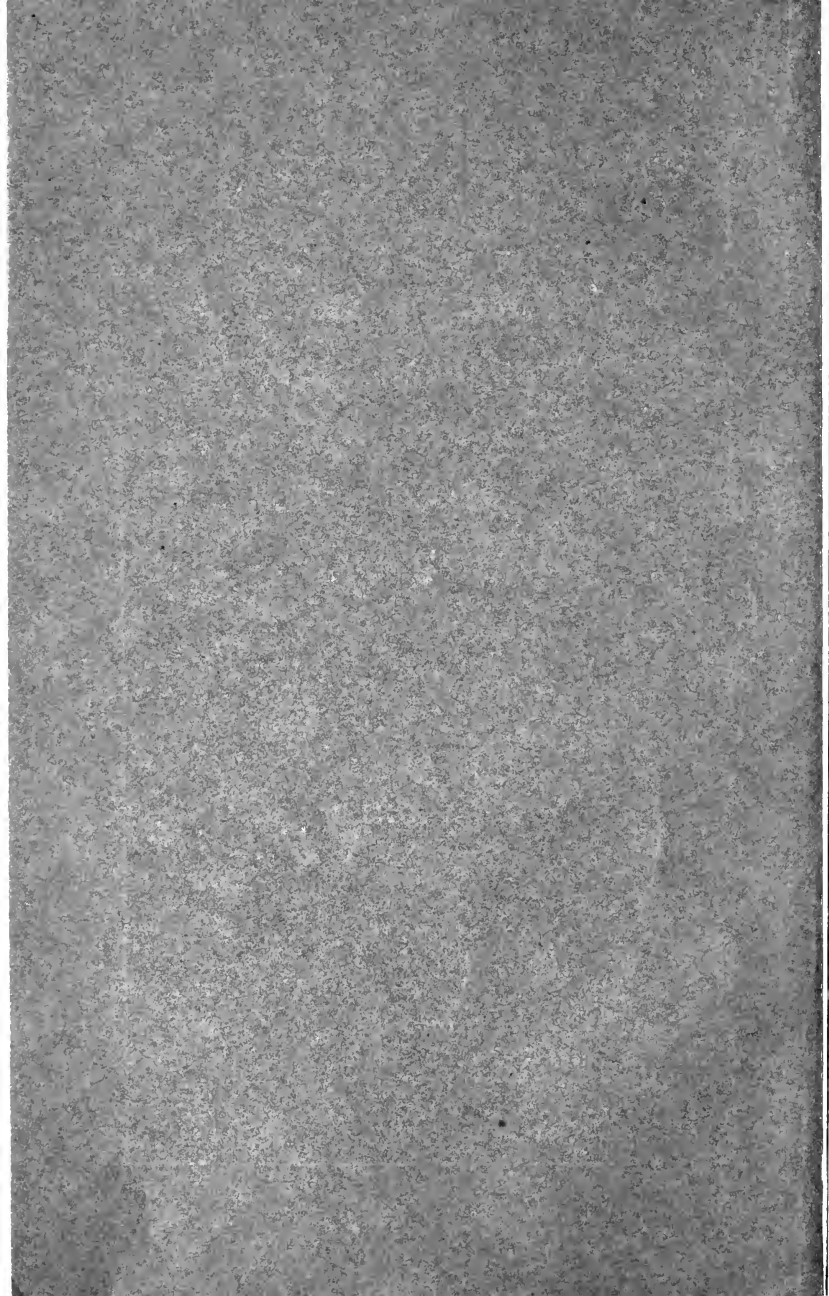
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Acts of the
Republican Party
as seen by
History



By
C. GARDNER

1906



Acts of the
Republican Party
as seen by
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INTRODUCTION.

LEST WE FORGET!

It is not for the purpose of controversy that this paper is prepared, but that the facts of history of our Southern country may not be forgotten. The memory of the heroic acts of Southern men and women during the sixties of the last century is very dear to Southern hearts today, but that memory is fast fading away, and it is very dim in the rising generation. We are zealous in keeping fresh the trials and sufferings of "the men of seventy-six," that their brave deeds may incite the youth of our land to emulate them. We of the South, for the same reason, would keep fresh the memory of the greater deeds, suffering, and heroism of our men from 1860 to 1870—a century later. The constant reading of the word "rebel" applied to men of the South in Northern literature leads even Southern-bred boys to adopt it, sometimes with pride, but more often through ignorance. They do not know that from first to last it was a false and unjust appellation as to their people, and should be repelled with scorn. We were no rebels, but freemen fighting for our liberty.

The educated North has changed much in the last few years, and today looks upon the course of their section from '60 to '70 with much disapproval. A prominent Republican and an ex-Union soldier recently said to the writer: "I look back upon my former sentiments on these questions with astonishment; I can't understand how I could ever have thought as I did." Could any Southern man write more beautifully of our dead than a Northern Republican recently wrote? "Early last Autumn, while spending a few days in Richmond, I visited the beautiful cemetery of Hollywood, and there, with uncovered head, paid silent homage to the dust of those brave heroes of the Lost Cause whose memory is preserved by that rude pyramid of stone which loving hearts and strong hands have combined to rear to the glory of the military achievements of the Con-

federate soldier. Continuing on my way in that silent city of the dead, I saw the memorials of many who bore names famous in the history of the commonwealth and the nation, and then at the extreme end of the enclosure I found the place where President Davis was laid away. On the banks of the James overlooking the city he loved so well, and surrounded by those who were dear to him in life, rests the great leader of the Confederacy. Thus are the worthy sons of Virginia honored by their descendants." Why this change in sentiment of these men? Why can they write so beautifully of our dead? Because they have learned the truth and are intelligent and honest enough to appreciate it. Then let each one of *us* do what little we can to carry on the good work, that our dear Southland may be honored, and our dead have justice done them. This is the sole motive of this paper.

CHAPTER I.

SLAVERY.

That the late war between the states would have occurred if the doctrine of secession had never been heard of there is no doubt. That it never would have occurred if there had been no African slavery in the country admits of as little doubt. Slavery was not the direct cause of the war, but it produced conditions which made the two sections antagonistic in interest and, shame be it said, men will always fight for interest more than for principle. We believe it was the interest of New England prior to 1861 to have a high protective tariff, as it is now; it was the interest of the South that we should have no tariff. New England was a manufacturing section, having no slaves, as the negro did not thrive in that cold climate, and were not profitable in agriculture, nor intelligent enough to be employed in manufactories. New England therefore *sold* the slaves to the South where they thrive in a warm and sunny clime, and were profitable in the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. But the South had no manufactories and therefore wished to purchase her manufactured goods in the cheapest market, and were naturally averse to paying tribute to New England in the way of a large increase in price of these commodities, under the name of tariff. The people of New England and of the South came to a great extent from the same stock, but New England was engaged in trade and commerce, the South in agriculture. The one occupation through all history has made men sharp, narrow and selfish, the other has made its votaries liberal and generous. In the case of the Southern whites, having leisure, it also made them cultivated and refined—traits entirely wanting in the early days in our New England ancestors. The shrewd New Englander, wishing to force the South to acquiesce in the legalized robbery under the name of tariff, looked about for the most vulnerable point in the Southern economic structure, and hit upon slavery. The conversion of

New England from slave owners and slave traders to the apostles of liberty is the most remarkable in history. That of Constantine to Christianity must give place to it.

Who was responsible for the presence of the negro slave in America? If we trace the history of slavery, we will find that old England and New England brought them here, and against many protests from the South.

But first let us say on the other point that we make in regard to secession: The right of revolution was never doubted by the Southern people, nor today is it doubted by any intelligent man alive. Perhaps not half the Southern people believed in the *right* of secession, but practically all believed in the right of revolution, and exercised it, knowing that they had just cause. Can the position of many Southern people, not lawyers or students of Constitutional history, be better stated than by Robert E. Lee? He says, in a letter to his son from Texas, January 23, 1861: "The South in my opinion has been aggrieved by the acts of the North as you say. I feel the aggression, and am willing to take every proper step for redress. But I can anticipate no greater calamity to the country than a dissolution of the Union. . . . Secession is nothing but revolution. The framers of our Constitution never expended so much labor, wisdom and forbearance in its foundation, and surrounded it with so many guards and securities, if it was intended to be broken by every member of the Confederacy at will. Still a union that can only be maintained by swords and bayonets, and in which strife and civil war are to take the place of brotherly love and kindness, has no charm for me. If the Union is dissolved and the Government disrupted I shall return to my native State, and save in its defence I will draw my sword on none." (Long's Life of R. E. Lee, p. 88.) Thus, when Lee and many other Southern men joined the Confederacy, they believed they exercised the inalienable right of freemen, revolution, and were prepared, as their fathers were before them, to take the consequences.

We repeat, therefore, that the war would have come if secession had never been a Constitutional right, because the Southern people never could have endured the wrongs imposed upon them by the North, and the fanatics of the North wished to crush them, and never would have permitted them to go in peace.

Slavery was practiced by all the nations of the world from the earliest time. It was practiced among the Hebrews and was sanctioned by the express legislation of the Most High. "Both thy bond men and thy bond maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you. Of them shall ye buy bond men and bond maids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land, and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever." (Lev. xxi:44, 45, 46.) And so in the New Testament we find: "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh." (Eph. vi:5; Col. iii.22; Titus ii.9, 10; I Peter ii.18.)

The Greeks and Romans enslaved every one of all nations who came within their power, and these were the liberty-loving people of the earth. It would require too much space even to call the roll of the slave-owning nations; we therefore come at once to our own English people. These, too, we find have been slaves and slave-owners from the earliest recorded history down to a recent date.

Edward III gave to a former slave, John Simondrey, a general power to go through the royal manors and grant manumission to all vassals therein for a certain compensation in money. This example of the sovereign was followed by many other lords in similar need, and to this, among other causes, may be attributed the extinction of villanage. In 1574, we find a commission issued by Queen Elizabeth, for inquiry into the condition of "all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, etc., such as were, *by blood, in a slavish condition, and to compound with them for their manumission and freedom.*" The benevolence and negligence of lords, and the unfruitfulness of villan service (especially when confined to the land) may be added as principal causes of the gradual extinction of villanage. It is true, however, in Britain, as on the continent, that the religious houses were the last to grant freedom to their villans. (Cobbe on Slavery, 129.) "These villans," says Blackstone (Black. Com., Bk. II, p. 93), "belonging principally to the lords of the manors, were either villans *regardant*, that is, annexed to the manor or land, or else they were gross, or

at large, that is, annexed to the person of the lord and transferable by deed from one owner to another. They could not leave this lord without his permission, but if they ran away, or were purloined from him, might be claimed and recovered by action, like beasts, or other chattels." These slaves were white, and our ancestors. While Queen Elizabeth set her white slaves free, she did not hesitate to procure black ones, and to engage in the African slave trade.

"No religious zeal prompted the English nation in this participation in the African slave trade. In 1553, we are informed by Hakluyt, twenty-four negro slaves were brought to England from the coast of Africa. The virtuous indignation of the people seems not to have been aroused, but the slaves were quietly sold as in open market. The introduction of negro slaves into that country continued without question as to its legality until the trial of the celebrated Somerset case in 1771, when it was discovered that even as far back as the eleventh year of Elizabeth's reign, in the case of the Russian slave, it had been solemnly adjudged that the air of England was *too pure for a slave to breathe in*. And yet, strange to say, in I Ed. vi, Chap. iii, certain vagabonds and idle servants were by Parliament declared to be *slaves* to their masters: and still stranger, while the Russian slave was enjoying the pure air of England, the virtuous Elizabeth was sharing the profits and participating in the curses of the African slave trade."

The London *Quarterly* of 1855 says: "The present philanthropists of Boston are greatly horrified at the advertisements in American newspapers, carefully collected by American abolitionists. To such we commend the files of old English journals, in the British Museum, where they will find negro runaways and negro slaves advertised with as much naiveté as their virtuous ancestors could assume. Sir John Hawkins has the memorable distinction of being the first English captain of a slave ship, but Queen Elizabeth regarded the slave trade as an achievement worthy of honorable commemoration, for when she made Hawkins a knight she gave him for a crest a device of a negro's head and bust with arms tightly pinioned. Public opinion on the subject was expressed by a Captain Lok, who declared that the negroes were a people of beastly living, without God, law, religion or commonwealth, so that he deemed himself their benefactor in carrying them off to a Christian land where their

bodies might be decently clothed, their souls made fit for heaven." (Fiske, Old Virginia.) How much more, then, should the Southern people be considered the benefactor of the negro, when they in so short a time transformed him from a savage to one *fit* to be an American citizen and the equal in all respects before the law of a native of Boston!

During the reign of Charles II (1662) a company was chartered named the Royal African Company, with the exclusive privilege of the slave trade, which included the king. The king and his brother were stockholders, and the Duke of York was its head.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Spain and England became the greatest dealers of all time in human flesh. By this treaty British subjects were granted the privilege of furnishing negro slaves to the Spanish colonies; the treaty was to last thirty years, and at least 140,000 negroes were to be imported.

It may be a surprise to some to know that a Southern slave State led the world in prohibiting the African slave trade. Virginia by Act October, 1778 (9 Henning Stat. 471) prohibited the importation of slaves under a penalty of £1000. England followed twenty-nine years later, in 1807. In the year 1771 there sailed from England alone 192 ships provided for the exportation of 47,146. (Copley's Hist. of Slavery, 114.) It is strange that the State of Georgia followed Virginia in abolishing the slave trade in 1798. Thus two slave States of the South set an example to the world in this humane act. It is interesting to compare the dates of the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery by the nations of the earth.

Virginia	abolished slave trade	1778,	slavery in	1865.
Georgia	"	"	"	1798 " " 1865.
Great Britain	"	"	"	1807 " " 1834.
United States	"	"	"	1808 " " 1865.
France	"	"	"	1815
Congress of Vienna	"	"	"	1815
Spain	"	"	"	1829
Denmark			"	" 1848.

Massachusetts never by statute abolished slavery. (Commonwealth v. Aves, Pick. 209.) Nor is there any statute in New Hampshire on that subject, and one slave is reported in that State emancipated in 1784, but five still existed by census

of 1840, and by the same census seven still lived in Connecticut. Slavery was not finally abolished in New York until 1827. The census of 1850 gives 236 as still living in Pennsylvania.

In the *Economic and Social History of New England* (Vol. II, p. 467), we find the following. "But can we believe the curious, prying eyes of modern research, as it uncovers an actual venture after negroes—a voyage deliberately planned by Peter Faneuil, owned one-half by himself and one-quarter by a Captain John Cutter. The name of the craft, too—did Peter slap his fat, round belly and chuckle when he named the same Jolly Bachelor? This must be merely the sad irony of fate, that the craft deliberately destined to be packed with human pains, and to echo with human groans, should in its very name bear the fantastic image of the luxury-loving chief owner. If these be the sources of profit and property, where is the liberty of Faneuil Hall; where the charity of 'good' Peter's alms?"

"Connecticut was not free from the 'sin of slavery.' In 1650, Indians who failed to make satisfaction for injuries were ordered to be seized and delivered to the injured party, 'either to serve or to be shipped out and exchanged for negroes, as the case will justly bear.' Insolvent debtors also were authorized to be sold to English purchasers and the proceeds applied to their debts. Negro slavery was abolished in Connecticut years before the latter provision was expunged from the statute book." (Cobb on Slavery, 1 Hild. 372.)

"Last week arrived at Fisher's Island the brig *Nancy*, belonging to this port, Capt. Robert W— (a half-pay British officer), master, and landed its cargo, consisting of 140 convicts, taken out of the British jails. Captain W—, it is said, received 51 sterling a head from the government for this job, and we hear he is distributing them about the country. Stand to it, houses, stores, etc., these gentry are acquainted with the business." (Salem, Mass., *Mercury*, July 15, 17—.)

Rhode Island joined in the general habit of the day, with the exception of the town of Providence. The community of the heretical Roger Williams alone placed the services of the black and the white races on the same footing. [Williams' heresy consisted in declaring that Indians *had souls*—for this he was forced to leave Massachusetts.] In the plantations generally, slaves abounded to a greater extent than in any other

portion of New England, and in Newport, the second commercial town in New England, there was a greater proportion of slaves than in Boston. (2 Hild. 419.)

As early as 1624 slaves were imported into New York. The city itself owned shares in a slave ship, advanced money for its outfit, and participated in the profits. The slaves were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. "That New York is not now a slave State like Carolina," says the historian, Bancroft, "is due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders." (2 Bancroft 303.) New Jersey in 1664 offered a bounty of seventy-five acres of land, by the proprietaries, for the importation of each able-bodied slave. (Cobb, p. cxlix.) It is a mooted question whether William Penn himself did or did not die a slave-owner. It is certain that his relatives who settled in Virginia were slave-owners.

In 1712, to a general petition for the emancipation of negro slavery in Pennsylvania, the Legislature responded, "It is neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty." The larger portion of slaves in Pennsylvania were found in Philadelphia, one-fourth of the population of which in 1750 are supposed to have been of African descent. (2 Hild. 420; Cobb cxlix.) The *Virginia Gazette*, May 24, 1751, contains a letter dated Philadelphia, which is very interesting in this connection, showing as it does that the practice of selling white convicts as slaves in that State was instituted by Penn, and it was kept up even as late as 1751. "From Bucks County we hear that a convict servant, one John McCanless, imported here last fall has broken open and robbed several houses of goods to a considerable value; but being apprehended at a Ferry is committed to Prison. When we see our Papers filled continually with accounts of the most audacious Robberies, the most cruel murders, and infinite other villanies perpetrated by convicts transported from Europe what melancholy, what terrible reflections must it occasion! These are of thy Favors, Briton. Thou art called our mother country, but what good mother ever sent Thieves and Villains to accompany her children? And what must we think of those Merchants who for the sake of a little paltry gain will be concerned in importing and disposing of these abominable cargoes?"

Thus we see all the Northern States owning slaves and actively engaged in the slave trade—white as well as black.

How, then, can they reproach the South for owning what they sold her? The greater curse, that of stealing and bartering for human beings, as well as the horrors of the middle passage, was upon the Northern slave-trader, and not the Southern planter. It was no great philanthropic act to declare slavery illegal in the North, where it was unprofitable, especially when a large price was obtained from the Southern planter for the slaves, but it required some sacrifice to abolish the slave trade, which was a lucrative one to the Northern ship owners. Let us see who led in this movement.

We have seen that Virginia preceded all the nations of the earth in prohibiting this trade, and Georgia came next; but the voice of Virginia was heard prior to that date in protesting against it. (9 Hen. Stat. 471.) "In 1699 the General Assembly of Virginia commenced a series of Acts (as many as twenty-three in all), by which they sought to arrest or discourage the introduction of slaves, the last being in 1772, which was accompanied by an earnest petition to the throne to remove all restrictions which inhibited His Majesty's Government assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce as that of slavery. This petition, like its predecessor, was disregarded. The Virginia Constitution of 1776, in its preamble, complains of it as one of the acts of 'detestable and insupportable tyranny' of the King of Great Britain, that he had prompted our negroes to rise in arms among us—those very negroes whom by an inhuman use of his negation he had refused us permission to exclude by law." (1 Tucker's Blackstone, Appx. 51—note. Va. Court.) Might not Virginians with propriety bring the same accusation against New England, for they imported the negro from Africa, against our wishes.

The effort was made in 1779 by Jefferson to abolish slavery in Virginia, again the first in our history. It was again made in 1803 and again in 1831; each time the effort was nearly successful. Only the difficulty of disposing of the free negroes prevented, for they constituted a large percentage of the population. (Jefferson's Notes on Va., 143; 1 Tuck. Blackstone, Pt. II, Appx. 76—id., 81; 4 Jeff. Mem. 388.)

Let us turn to national legislation on this subject. After the recognition of the independence of the States, the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States were unanimous in putting a limit upon the introduction of negroes.

Massachusetts, whose merchants were engaged in the slave trade, joined with Georgia and South Carolina in demanding a few more years ere the final prohibition, and the year 1808 was agreed upon. In 1808, when the Act of prohibition took effect, the State of Rhode Island alone had fifty-four vessels engaged in the slave trade. Luther Martin, of Maryland, in the Convention moved the prohibition of the trade, and he was most earnestly sustained by Mason, Madison and Randolph, of Virginia, and was opposed by Georgia and South Carolina, and by New England. (3 Madison Papers, 1388-92, 1427.) In fact, at that time Virginia was much more earnest in wishing to abolish slavery than were the extreme Northern States. The Act of 1787, excluding slaves from the Northwest Territory, originated with Virginia and passed Congress with but one dissenting vote, and that from New York—the entire South voting for it.

But the strangest fact in this story of slavery has not been told. The Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, issued January 1st, 1863, freeing the slaves, was of course only a piece of buncombe, and could legally and constitutionally have no effect. The act which set the negroes free was the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. This being granted, let us see what a mess our Republican fellow citizens have gotten themselves into. This amendment was declared adopted December 18th, 1865, and at that time there were thirty-six States members of the Federal Union. Article V of the Constitution provides that no amendment to the Constitution shall become a part thereof until "ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States." Therefore, to ratify an amendment at that time, the vote of twenty-seven States was required, and by the proclamation of the Secretary of State, December 18th, 1865, twenty-seven States are named as having so ratified, but of these only sixteen were Northern States, the others were Virginia, West Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, Missouri and Maryland. Now it must be very humiliating to Northern Republicans to think that it required the vote of these Southern States to set the negro free: that nine Northern States refused to vote for the measure; but it must be "wormwood and gall" to be told that the votes of these Southern States were illegally given, and that therefore this amendment was illegally adopted, but Congress by their acts

have so declared. The Acts of Congress known as the Reconstruction Acts (Stat. at Large, 13 Vol., p. 428; Vol. 14; 15 Vol. 73) declare that there exists in the Southern States no legal government, and they are not entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States, and provide for the formation of a new constitution for these States, a provision of which shall abolish slavery, disfranchise the whites and admit the negro to vote. Eight of the States above named are among these States which Congress declares out of the Union. The Acts provide for the formation of new and reconstructed States, which was done, and are the State governments recognized today as the legal governments. To add to this dilemma, another of the States consenting to the thirteenth amendment was West Virginia. Section 3 of Article IV of the Constitution provides, "No new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the jurisdiction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislature of the State concerned." Therefore, as the government of Virginia, which Congress declared not to exist legally, was the one giving consent to the formation of West Virginia, that State had no legal existence, and one more consenting State goes, leaving but eighteen consenting States, or just one-half, instead of the necessary three-fourths. Will the Republican party accept the Southern votes to abolish slavery, or the Reconstruction Acts, which tried to abolish the South and make the negro master?

It is very interesting in this connection to consider the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States on the legal status of the South during and after the war. The leading case on this question is *Texas v. White*, 7 Wallace. The opinion of the Court was delivered by Chief Justice Chase. After stating the history of secession, he summarizes the action of the State of Texas as follows: "In all respects, so far as the object could be accomplished by ordinance of the Convention, by Acts of the Legislature, and by votes of its citizens, the relations of Texas to the Union were broken up, and new relations to a new government were established for them." This was followed by a rehash of Judge Story's argument against secession, very poorly done, as Judge Story has many times been answered and annihilated ("Is Davis a Traitor?"—Bledsoe); it is unnecessary to refer to it. The majority of the court held the act of

secession void, and that Texas had not left the Union. This opinion was not unanimous, the three ablest judges (Miller, Swayne and Grier) dissenting, and their views were stated by Justice Grier. He says in part: "These clauses (quoting from Marshall) show that the word 'State' is used in the Constitution as designating a member of the Union, and excludes from the term the signification attached to it by writers on the law of nations. Now we have a clear and well defined test by which we may arrive at a conclusion with regard to the question of facts now to be decided. Is Texas a State, now represented by members chosen by the people of that State and received on the floor of Congress? Has she two Senators to represent her as a State in the Senate of the United States? Has her voice been heard in the late election of President? Is she not now held and governed as a conquered province by military force? The Act of Congress of March 28th, 1867, declares Texas to be a 'Rebel State,' and provides for its government until a legal and republican State government could be legally established.

"It constituted Louisiana and Texas as the fifth military district, and made it subject, not to the civil authority, but to the military authority of the United States.

"It is true that no organized rebellion now exists there, and the courts of the United States now exercise jurisdiction over the people of that *province*. *But this is no test of the State's being in the Union.* Dakota is no State, and yet the courts of the United States administer justice there as they do in Texas. The Indian tribes, who are governed by military force, cannot claim to be States of the Union. Wherein does the condition of Texas differ from theirs?

"Now, by assuming or admitting as a fact the present *status* of Texas as a State not in the Union politically, I beg leave to protest against any charge of inconsistency as to judicial opinions heretofore expressed as a member of this Court, or silently assented to. I do not consider myself bound to express any opinion judicially as to the constitutional right of Texas to exercise the rights and privileges of a State of this Union, or the power of Congress to govern her as a conquered province, to subject her to military domination, and keep her in pupillage. I can only submit to the fact as declared by the political position of the Government; and I am not disposed to join in any essay to prove Texas to be a State of the Union

when Congress have declared that she is not. It is a question of fact, I repeat, and of *fact only*. Politically, Texas is *not a State* in this Union; whether rightly or wrongfully out of it or not is a question not before the Court."

To prove that Congress unquestionably intended that the Southern States as they formerly existed should be blotted out of existence, and new and reconstructed States admitted into the Union, it is only necessary to refer to the proceedings of that body. On June 25, 1868 (15 Stat. at Large 73) Congress passed the Act admitting North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama and Florida to the Union. The Act states that these States had complied with the Act of March 2, 1867, and declares that the above named States "*shall be entitled and admitted to representation in Congress as a State of the Union when the Legislatures of each State shall have duly ratified the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States . . . known as the fourteenth amendment,*" etc., etc.

Thus, if the facts of history can prove anything, we have two points established. After the death of nearly a million of the best men in the country, and an immense loss of treasure, the Southern States were out of the Union and held as conquered provinces, the abolition of negro slavery was enacted by the votes of Southern slave States, without which it could not have been legally enacted, and all that was accomplished by the war was the destruction of the South, which was the true object of Republican leaders.

Negro slavery in the South has been depicted in the most harrowing terms by Northern abolitionists; it is useless to recall to the memory these false statements of the *ante-bellum* conditions. The slavery of the South was the mildest of serfdom, and the conditions admirably fitted to the negro. Never since the day the curse of the Lord fell upon the son of Noah has his seed been in a condition better suited to his temperament, or more mild and benevolent. While the whites of the South have been much blessed by the extinction of slavery, the negro has been cursed by it, and today they are reaping the fruits of the acts of their pretended friends at the North, which will result in the extermination of the race.

A few extracts from the writings of disinterested persons will prove the truth of this statement. From "History and Present State of Virginia," Edition of 1722:

"Because I have heard how strangely cruel and savage the service of this country is represented in some parts of England, I can't forbear affirming that the work of these servants and slaves is no other than what every common free-man does. Neither is any servant required to do more in a day than his overseer. And I can assure you with great truth that generally their slaves are not worked near so hard nor so many hours in a day as the husbandman and day laborers in England. An overseer is a man that, having served his time, has acquired the skill and character of an experienced planter, and is therefore intrusted with the direction of the servants and slaves."

And again in the same book: "The inhabitants are very courteous to travellers, who *need no other recommendation but the being human creatures*. A stranger has no more to do but to inquire upon the road where any gentleman or good house-keeper lives, and there he may depend upon being received with hospitality. This good nature is so general among these people that the gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal servant to entertain all visitors with everything the plantation affords. And the poor planters, who have but one bed, will very often set up, or lie upon a form or couch all night, to make room for a weary traveller to repose himself after his journey."

Extract below is from a letter written in 1822 by General Quitman, a native of New York, to his father, and describes Southern life just a century later than the above, but the life is the same.

"I am now writing," he says, "from one of these old Southern mansions, and I can give you no better notion of life at the South than by describing the routine of a day. The owner is the widow of a Virginia gentleman of distinction—a brave officer who died in the public service during the last war with Great Britain.

"This excellent lady is not rich—merely independent—but by thrifty housewifery, and good dairy and garden, she contrives to dispense the most liberal hospitality. Her slaves appear to be, in a manner, free, yet are obedient and polite, and the farm is well worked. With all her gayety of disposition and fondness for the young she is truly pious, and in her own apartments, every night, she has family prayers with her slaves, one or more of them being often called on to sing and pray. They are married by a clergyman of their own color, and a

sumptuous supper is always prepared. On public holidays they have dinners equal to an Ohio barbecue, and Christmas, for a week or ten days, is a protracted festival for the blacks. They are a happy, careless, unreflecting, good-natured race, who, left to themselves, would degenerate into drones or brutes; but, subjected to wholesale restraint and stimulus, become the best and most contented of laborers. They are strongly attached to 'old massa' and 'old missus,' but their devotion to 'young massa' and 'young missus' amounts to enthusiasm.

"They have great family pride, and are the most arrant coxcombs and aristocrats in the world. At a wedding I witnessed here last Saturday evening, where some one hundred and fifty negroes were assembled—many being invited guests—I heard a number of them addressed as governors, generals, judges, and doctors (the titles of their masters). The 'colored ladies' are invariably Miss Joneses, or some such title. They are exceedingly pompous and ceremonious, gloved and highly perfumed. The 'gentlemen' sport canes, ruffles and jewelry; wear boots and spurs; affect crape on their hats, and carry huge segars. The belles wear gaudy colors, 'tote' their fans with the air of Spanish senioritas, and never stir out, though black as the ace of spades, without their parasols.

"In short, these 'niggers,' as you call them, are the happiest people I have ever seen, and some of them are in form, features and movements real sultanas. So far from being fed on salted cotton-seed, as we used to believe in Ohio, they are oily, sleek, bountifully fed, well clothed, well taken care of, and one hears them at all times whistling and singing cheerily at their work. . .

"Compared with the ague-smitten and suffering settlers that you and I have seen in Ohio, or the sickly and starved operators we read of in factories and in mines, these Southern slaves are indeed to be envied. They are treated with great humanity and kindness." (Lunt, p. 466.)

Such was the negro slavery which the Northern philanthropists sacrificed fourteen billion of dollars and one million of lives to destroy—about one life for every three and one-half negroes in the South.

It is pertinent to ask at this point have the negroes been benefited by this change from slavery to freedom. Dr. P. B. Barringer, of the University of Virginia, in an address delivered before the race conference at Montgomery, Ala., 1900, says:

"Beyond these facts here set forth I may state that as a Southerner and a physician I am familiar with the physicians of the South, and it is the almost universal opinion of these men, who should and do know more of the negro than all other classes combined, that the negro as a race is steadily degenerating, both morally and physically. The last census showed a decrease in gain as compared with the preceding, and when the tide once turns the end will be in sight.

"In conclusion, all things point to the fact that the negro as a race is reverting to barbarism with the inordinate criminality and degradation of that state. It seems, moreover, that he is doomed at no distant day to racial extermination. If reproduction ceases eight millions will die out as rapidly as eight hundred, as the outlook for this people is black indeed.

"What brought about this condition? In my opinion emancipation—the negro feels that this was a *dies irae*; he has no enthusiasm for "Emancipation Day"—sounded the death knell of the negro, but it did not of necessity decree his speedy end. Something else was needed, and fate supplied the need—the negro was duly crowned with the ballot and given control of the South. That settled it. Enmity was deliberately put between the son of the master, the only man who ever really loved the slave, and the son of the slave. The only sincerely friendly hand the negro ever knew was perforce turned against him, and without it he is falling. What will save him? Will education? The South has given him the best she had, and we see the result. Will industrial education prove a panacea? The report of the Bureau of Education for 1889-90 shows that of 1,243 graduates of seventeen colored industrial schools, three only pursued the trade for which educated, twelve were farming, six hundred and ninety-three teaching academic schools, and the rest had joined the non-producing professions and pursuits. The wealth of the Indies could not give this entire race technical training any more than it could satiate the appetite of those thriving on the brokerage of philanthropy. Industrial training should be reserved for a more industrious people. In my opinion nothing is more certain than that the negro will go as the Tasmanian and the Carib have gone; but till then he is our problem. I say ours, because the New South—child of the Old, young, strong and undaunted—proposes to deal with this matter as she sees best. The future of the negro surely prompts compassion,

charity and mercy. These he will get in full measure; but the white man of the South should not and will not re-enslave himself for the benefit of the black. Slavery is forever gone, and with it went the bonds which for two centuries fettered the master, and also every iota of his responsibility for his grand but ghastly tragedy—The Sacrifice of a Race.”

The prediction of Dr. Barringer is not founded on the facts alone which he sees around him; it is but the history of the race in other lands—Africa, the West Indies, and South America. (Cobb on Slavery.) In the South the Italians are pouring in from the old world and pressing the negro out of the cotton and rice fields. In the border States laborers from the Northern States and Europe are driving them from the corn and tobacco fields. From these old homes they are retiring to the cities, and to the woods. In the first they are acquiring all the vices of the whites; in the latter they are sinking into the barbarism of their ancestors. This crime is at the door of the men who wore the blue, and not those who wore the gray.

CHAPTER II.

SECESSION.

In placing before our people the truth of secession, the war, and reconstruction, the words of men best informed on these subjects will be used, for they carry weight with them.

Many well-informed Americans today believe the doctrine of secession originated in the South, and was a political heresy of which John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis were the originators. They will be surprised to know that this is far from the truth; that Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Burr, and many others were its disciples; that the right of a State to secede from the Union—"secession"—was a part and parcel of the theories of our government from the first, and was nursed and perpetuated, not in the South, but in New England, where more than once it was practically put in force; that it was taught as late as 1861 at West Point as the Constitutional Law of the land. This last statement is surprising but true. Until 1861 "Rawls on the Constitution" was used as a text-book at West Point. At page 294 he says: "It depends on the State itself to retain or abolish the principles of representation, because *it depends on itself whether or not it will continue a member of the Union.* To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principle on which all our political systems are founded, which is, that the people have in all cases a right to determine how they will be governed."

It is true that the Supreme Court held in *White vs. Texas*, 7 Wallace, that this right never existed, but as far as the acts of 1861 are concerned this was *ex post facto*, and was made for political purposes by the men who made the war, to justify their acts, and in this case a large majority of the Court held that Congress by its acts had decided the State of Texas to be out of the Union—thus endorsing secession.

Massachusetts in her act adopting the Constitution calls that instrument a compact, and Virginia, in her act of ratifi-

cation, expressly reserved the right of the State to secede at will, and she was received into the Union under this agreement—compact, as Massachusetts called it. Will any candid, reasonable man contend that this part of the compact was not as binding upon the parties to it as any other clause?

A recent Northern writer¹ has said, "It is partisan reading of American history not to see that from the acceptance of the Constitution in 1790 there has been a tendency to assert the rights of States, and the right of States to sever relation to the Union. New England in 1803 and 1804 tried to get five States to secede—New York, New Jersey and the New England States. In 1812-14 New England practically withdrew from co-operation with the Union."

Another author² says, "In the Massachusetts State Convention of 1851 it was 'Resolved, That the one issue before the country is dissolution of the Union, in comparison with which all other issues are as dust in the balance, therefore we have given ourselves to the work of annulling this convention with death.'"

In 1814 a committee of the New York Legislature reported: "It is the opinion of this Committee that these New England Federalists mean to make peace with the enemy, and to forcibly separate New England from the Union."

A convention was held at Hartford, Conn., between Dec. 15, 1814, and Jan. 5, 1815, consisting of twelve delegates from Massachusetts, seven from Connecticut, three from Rhode Island, two from New Hampshire, and one from Vermont. The president was George Cabot, of Massachusetts, and the secretary Theodore Dwight, of Connecticut. The convention was in session three weeks, and then issued a report to the Legislatures of the States represented. This report says in part:

"But in case of deliberate, dangerous and palpable infraction of the Constitution affecting the sovereignty of a State, and liberties of the people, it is not only the right but the duty of such a State to interpose its authority for their protection, in the manner best calculated to secure that end," and it further declares, "Therefore resolved that it be and is hereby recommended to the Legislatures of the several States represented

¹ Powell N. & S., pp. 69-70, 90.

² Carpenter's Logic of History.

in this Convention to adopt all such measures as may be necessary *effectually to protect the citizens of said States from the operation and effects of all acts which have been passed by the Congress of the United States.*"

Nor did New England stop at resolutions, but gave aid and comfort to the enemy. Powell, himself a New Englander, says (Nullification and Secession, p. 216):

"No son of New England can remember without pain and shame the records of that section (1812-14). 'In fact,' writes Provost of Bathurst, 'two-thirds of the Army of Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors.' Says McMasters, 'The road to St. Regis was covered with droves of cattle, and the rivers with rafts destined for the enemy. On the Vermont side of the lake the highways were too narrow and too few to accommodate the herds of cattle that were pouring into Canada. Were it not for these supplies, writes General Izard to the Secretary of War, the British forces would soon be suffering famine. England, in return, exempted Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire from Blockade.' Who were the rebels in 1812? But for the defeat of the British by General Jackson at New Orleans, which aroused public enthusiasm, New England would have seceded from the Union, and there would have been no war of 1861.

(See Dwight's History of the Hartford Convention. Ingersoll, History of Second War with Great Britain. Adams, Documents relating to New England Federalists. Goodrich, Recollections. Benton's Debates. Powell, Nullification and Secession.)

Let us see what men of national prominence all through our history have said of States rights and secession. Chief Justice Jay, a member of the Convention and an author of the Federalist, in *Chisholm v. Georgia*, 7 Doll. 419, calls the Constitution a compact.

"Our Constitution and all the State Constitutions have been voluntary compacts, derived from the free consent of the parties to them."—John Quincy Adams.

Mr. Madison, "father of the Constitution," says, "Virginia views the power of the Federal Government as resulting from compacts to which the States are parties." ("Is Davis a Traitor?" p. 75. "Virginia Resolutions.")

To the same effect Edmund Pendleton (see Elliot's Debates); Thomas Jefferson (see Correspondence, Vol. IV, p. 415); Gouverneur Morris (see "Is Davis a Traitor?" 75); Alexander Hamilton (Federalist No. IX), who calls it "An Association of States, or a Confederacy."

Powell¹, after showing Hamilton's efforts to form a Northern Confederacy in 1803, says: "No one can look back to 1803 and gather up the threads of dishonor, and trace the effects of selfishness to destroy the young nation, while yet in the flush of youth, without deep chagrin and anger. There is no apology for the leaders. There was in their plotting no great moral purpose; not even a commercial excuse. Although it was free States against slave States, yet there was no anti-slavery sentiment involved. When the trial hour came, two who had been cabinet officers, and two governors, with a chief justice and half a dozen Congressmen, were plotters to destroy what they were under oath to sustain. The men most trusted were found least ready to sacrifice their own power for the good of the whole. . . . They deliberately undertook to pull down what Washington and Jefferson builded, that they might rule in a corner of the ruins." Again (p. 139): "But not one of them argued that *neither* New England nor New York nor any other section had a *right* to leave the Union. Washington had worked for 'an indissoluble union,' but his colleagues clearly did not suppose the Union indissoluble. Cabot while unprepared for precipitate action, wished not to be misunderstood. 'A separation now is impracticable because we do not feel the necessity or utility of it. Separation will be unavoidable when our loyalty to the Union is generally perceived to be the instrument of debasement and impoverishment.' This was the average height of the logic used—secession rather than poverty. We look in vain for any high-keyed patriotism. Not a flash anywhere of loyalty to federalism. They will quit the Union when they can when it costs them too much. The training in New England had created a vast self-sufficiency of the cultured 'set.' They questioned sincerely the ability of the people to get on without them."

We come next to Webster in 1833. After reading Bledsoe's "Is Davis a Traitor?" one can hardly help believing that his anti-compact propositions were not original with him, but

¹ Nullification and Secession, pp. 137-9.

were borrowed from his friend, Judge Story, to enable him to maintain his reputation in his debate with Hayne. The more we know of Webster the more we admire the intellect and despise the man. But Webster forgot Story's teachings years later, and when the heat of discussion was gone, and his great mind threw aside casuistry and spoke the truth as he saw it. In his speech delivered at Capon Springs, Virginia, in 1851, he says: "I do not hesitate to say and repeat that if the Northern States refuse wilfully or deliberately to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, the South would no longer be bound to keep the compact. A bargain broken on one side is broken on all sides." We want no stronger statement from him.

Coming to the period of the war, we find the opinions of prominent *Northern* men still more surprising, for they proclaimed the right of secession one day and the next proclaimed the Southerners rebels and traitors for exercising it. We can only give a few examples for want of space:

"Tear down that flaunting lie;
Half mast that starry flag;
Insult no sunny sky
With hate's polluted rag."

—*New York Tribune.*

"How dare any one pray for the preservation of that sin and shame the Union. . . . Unity of States is a crime."—*Boston Commonwealth.*

"The Republican party is moulding public sentiment in the right direction for the dissolution of the Union."—Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

"Virginia is no State! Mr. Wise is not a Governor! The Union is not a nation! All these governments are organized piracies."—Wendell Phillips, 1859.

At another time he said, "We are disunionists; we want to get rid of this Union."

At a meeting at Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1854, it was "Resolved, That we seek the dissolution of this Union, and that we hereby declare ourselves the friends of a new Confederacy of States, and for a dissolution of the Union."

"If the Church is against disunion, I pronounce for the church of the devil! Up with the flag of disunion!"—Garrison.

"There never was an hour when this blasphemous and infamous union should have been made; now the hour must be prayed for when it will be dashed to pieces."—Rev. Andrew Forbes.

"The logic of bayonets and rifles and pikes will be henceforth used against the South."—Governor Andrews, of Massachusetts, 1859.

"Resolved, That it is the duty of the North, in case we fail in electing a President and Congress that will restore freedom to Kansas, to revolutionize the government."—Republican Convention, Green County, Wisconsin, 1856.

These quotations might be extended indefinitely.

"The fact can no longer be disguised that many Republican Senators desire war and disunion under pretense of saving the Union. For partisan reasons they are desirous to destroy the Union."¹ (Stephen A. Douglas in the United States Senate, December 25th, 1860.)

Why did the South secede? is the question which logically next arises, and it can be answered in the words of Abraham Lincoln: "Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of one existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people, that can, may revolutionize and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit."² (In Congress, *January 12, 1848.*)

The South exercised this right by an almost unanimous vote of her people.

The causes they allege for their acts have been summarized by Dr. Bledsoe as follows ("Is Davis a Traitor?" p. 266):

"The grounds or causes of secession are, it seems to me, amply sufficient to justify the South in the exercise of a constitutional right for which she was amenable to no tribunal on earth except the moral sentiment of mankind.

¹ "Is Davis a Traitor?" So. Rev. xxxvii, 1; (Id. p. 95, Jan. 1, 1872.)

² Morse, *Life of Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 76.

Violation of Contract, see Webster's Works, Vol. II, p. 574.

"1st. The destruction of the balance of power which was originally established between the North and the South.

"2nd. The sectional legislation by which the original poverty of the North was exchanged for the wealth of the South.

"3rd. The formation of a faction, or party, of the North pledged against the South.

"4th. The utter subversion and contemptuous disregard of all the checks of the Constitution, instituted and designed by its authors for the protection of the minority against the majority.

"5th. The unjust treatment of the slavery question, by which the compacts of the Constitution made by the North in favor of the South, were gravely violated by her; while at the same time she insisted on the observance of all the compacts made by the South in her own favor.

"6th. The sophistry and hypocrisy, by which the injustice to the South was attempted to be justified.

"7th. The horrible abuse and slander heaped on the South by the writers of the North.

"8th. The contemptuous denial of the right of secession and the threats of extermination in case the South attempted to exercise that right."

The South appealed to the Supreme Court, and in the words of Woodrow Wilson (*Disunion and Reunion*, p. 198), "The opinion of the court sustained the whole Southern claim." This should have settled the question, but the Northern leaders appealed to "a higher law"—the passion and prejudice of the people.

Lunt,¹ in his work "Origin of the Late War," p. 363, says: "It is impossible to regard the proceedings of the Chicago Convention in any other light, than as equivalent to a proclamation of absolutely hostile purpose against the Southern section of the country. They were not technically a declaration of war, to be conducted by arms, simply because they proposed only to use the *pacific* force of superior numbers, in order to deprive the minority of its rights under the Constitution. While, in one part of their 'platform,' the Republicans made a specious profession of regard for the Constitution, in another part they announced a dissolution of the 'political bonds' by which the

¹ Lunt was a Boston man, and for many years clerk of the Legislature.

sections were held together, and even refused to be called by a national name. It was an attitude which ought to have given instant alarm to every sincere friend of the Union!"

If the South had desired to issue a Declaration of Independence, could it have introduced the same with a preamble better befitting the conditions than the following? "When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind requires that they should declare the cause which impelled them to the separation." But this was not penned by a Southern hand; it is part of the Chicago *platform* upon which Abraham Lincoln was nominated.

The South did separate with many words of regret. And can we do better than give here the farewell words of our persecuted and beloved leader, but with all a grand, great man, when he bade farewell to the Senate in 1861? The words were as grand as the man, and recite far better than others could what every Southern man thought and felt. Mr. Davis said:

"I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession, so often confounded, are, indeed, antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligations and a State, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves, and when the people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

"A great man, who now reposes with his fathers, and who has often been arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union—his determination to find some remedy for existing ills

short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other States—that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he proclaimed to be peaceful—to be within the limits of State power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the States for their judgment.

“Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. *There was a time when none denied it.* I hope the time may come again when a *better comprehension* of the theory of our Government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the States, will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

. . . “It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of a great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been evoked to justify coercion against a seceded State. That phrase, ‘to execute the laws,’ was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms—at least it is a great misapprehension of the case—which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be the purpose of gentlemen they may make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union: but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State, finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is—in which her safety requires that she shall provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union—surrenders all benefits (and they are known to be many), deprives herself of the advantages (and they are known to be great), severs all the ties of affection (and they are close and endearing) which have bound her to the Union, and thus divesting herself of every benefit—taking upon herself every burden—she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

"I well remember an occasion when Massachusetts was arraigned before the bar of the Senate, and when the doctrine of coercion was rife, and to be applied against her, because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. My opinion then was the same that it is now. Not in a spirit of egotism, but to show that I am not influenced in my opinion because the case is my own, I refer to that time and that occasion, as containing the opinion which I then entertained, and on which my present conduct is based. I then said that if Massachusetts, following her through a stated line of conduct, chose to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her back, but will say her, God speed in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.

"It has been a conviction of pressing necessity—it has been a belief that we are to be deprived, in the Union, of the rights which our fathers bequeathed us—which has brought Mississippi into her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of attack upon her social institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. The Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born (to use the words of Mr. Jefferson) bootied and spurred, to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal—meaning the men of a political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families, but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body politic. These were the great principles they announced: these were the purposes for which they made their declaration: these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else how happened it that, among the items of arraignment against George III, was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do—to stir up insurrection among our slaves? Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the prince to be arraigned for raising up insurrection

among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother country? When our constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable; for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property. They were not put upon the footing of equality with white men—not even upon that of paupers and convicts—but so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste, only to be represented in the numerical proportion of three-fifths.

“Then, Senators, we recur to the compact which binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive to our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence and take the hazard. This is done not in hostility to others—not to injure any section of the country; not even for our own pecuniary benefit—but from the high and solemn *motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited*, and which it is our duty to transmit unshorn to our children.

“I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards you. I am sure I feel no hostility towards you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people I represent towards those you represent. I, therefore, feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and *if you will have it thus*, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered us from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.”

It is not remarkable that the only effort to avert the war, made by a State, should have come from Virginia.

Virginia was not satisfied to let the handiwork of her great sons—the Union—be destroyed without one effort to save it,

and with it give peace and happiness. The General Assembly on the 19th of January, 1861, passed resolutions inviting the several States to appoint commissioners to meet in Washington on the 4th of February ensuing, "to consider, and if practicable, agree upon some suitable adjustment, in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally formed and consistently with its principles."

Lunt says: "The proposition of Virginia was like a fire-brand suddenly presented to the portals of the Republican magazine, and the whole energies of the radicals were at once enlisted to make it of no effect." The slave-holding States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and Missouri cheerfully responded. Of the eighteen free States, five did not send delegates, to wit: Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, California and Oregon. Let us see the spirit in which the others came.

Again I go to Boston for my authority. Lunt says (p. 18), speaking of Massachusetts: "The names of those whom the Governor had fixed upon were announced on the following morning and the public were astounded to observe that seven more thoroughly uncompromising gentlemen could not have been selected in the State. In fact, they were evidently to be sent to Washington not to confer but to resist; and their united influence, exerted in that direction, in combination with that of the other radical members, throughout the course of the proceedings, proved extremely unfavorable to the effect of any measures of adjustment which might be adopted, and rendered what was actually accomplished of no avail.

"Indeed, the Northern Legislatures in general, having come under the control of the sectionalists, were extremely reluctant to accede to the invitations of Virginia; and although their desire for a friendly conference, in their resolutions for the appointment of commissioners took care to let it be known that they were not prepared to accept the basis of adjustment proposed. Several of them, in merely formal compliance, simply requested their Senators and Representatives in Congress to act, that is, Republican politicians already, both privately and officially implicated in the doings of the party, instead of men from whom some impartial consideration of the subject might be expected as possible. But notwithstanding all this effort at 'hedging,' the radicals were in a state of extreme trepidation.

The convention contained many gentlemen of great public reputation, and who had held eminent offices in the nation and at home, both from the border slave States and from several of the free States. There seemed reason to apprehend that their deliberations might produce a strong public impression, and prove unfavorable to the interest and objects of the *party*. It was in this state that the following despatch was sent to the Governor of Wisconsin by a Red and Black Republican, who afterwards became somewhat notorious in a military capacity" (as reward for his services in this respect):

February 1, 1861.

To Governor Randall:

Appoint commissioners to Washington Conference—myself one—to *strengthen our side*.

CARL SCHURZ.

And the Senator from Michigan wrote his Governor as follows:

WASHINGTON, February 11, 1861.

My dear Governor:

Governor Bingham and myself telegraphed to you on Saturday, *at the request of Massachusetts and New York*, to send delegates to the Peace Compromise Congress. They admit that we were right and they were wrong: *that no Republican State* should have sent delegates; but they are here, and can't get away. Ohio, Indiana, and Rhode Island are caving in, and there is some danger of Illinois; and now we beg you for God's sake to come to their rescue, and save the Republican party from rupture. I hope you will send stiff-backed men or none. The whole thing was gotten up against my judgment and advice, and will end in smoke. Still I hope, as a matter of courtesy to some of our erring brethren, that you will send the delegates.

Truly your friend,

Z. CHANDLER.

His Excellency Austin Blair.

P. S.—Some manufacturing States think a fight would be awful. *Without a little blood-letting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a curse.*

"If this truly eloquent and statesmanlike epistle (!!) does not express the views of the Republican managers at the time, precisely, it does at least indicate with sufficient clearness their relations towards the Peace Conference and the determined pur-

pose of the radicals to have 'a fight,' and *it furthermore foreshadows the actual direction given to future events*. There were enough of the 'stiff-backed' in the Peace Conference to deprive its deliberations and their results of all moral effect. They thought much more of saving the Republican party from rupture, than of taking pains to prevent the threatened dissolution of the Union—an event which only too many of them actually desired, and which had now come so near—because in the face of a calamity so dreadful, 'conservative' Republicans and desperate radicals continued to hold together and to act in concert with each other." "Origin Late War," p. 418-20.

Stephen A. Douglas, in the Senate, referring to a proposition introduced by himself, said:

"I believe this to be a fair basis of amicable adjustment. If you of the Republican side are not willing to accept this, nor the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Crittenden, pray tell us, what are you willing to do? I address the inquiry to the Republicans alone, for the reason that, in the Committee of Thirteen, a few days ago, every member from the South, including those from the cotton States (Davis and Toombs), expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of my venerable friend from Kentucky, as a final settlement of the controversy, if tendered and sustained by the Republican members. Hence the sole responsibility of our disagreement, and the only difficulty in the way of an amicable adjustment, is with the Republican party." (Congressional Globe, p. 41—appendix.)

A month later Douglas writes to a Tennessee newspaper: "They (the Republican leaders) are trying to plunge the country into civil war, as the surest means of destroying the Union, upon the plea of enforcing the laws and protecting public property. If they can defeat any adjustment or compromise, by which the point at issue may be satisfactorily settled, and keep up the irritation so as to induce the border States to follow the cotton States, they will feel certain of the accomplishment of their ultimate designs. Nothing will gratify them so much, or contribute so effectually to their success as the secession of the border States. Every State that withdraws from the Union increases the relative power of the Northern abolitionists to defeat a satisfactory adjustment."

These extracts could be indefinitely extended, but sufficient have been given to indicate that it was the Northern Republican leaders who intentionally forced the South to secede; that Sumner, Chandler, Seward and Stevens were the true conspirators and traitors against the Union, and not Davis and the other Southern leaders. With the South the war was one of self-defence—an attempt to drive back as ruthless and unjustifiable invasion as the world's history records.

The wonder of it is so many good, true and brave men were willing to be led by such leaders as at that time administered the Government. It is only another instance of the extent of the insanity to which political excitement will drive even the best of men. As the writer stood upon the heights overlooking the Antietam a few days ago, and realized the desperate valor which impelled McClellan's troops to again and again advance to almost sure death, or wounds, he could not help wondering what motives impelled their action. If the men resembled the generals, but few of them sympathized with their Government in its efforts to destroy their brethren of the South. Why, then, did they risk their lives in such a cause, and at the command of such a President?

If the reader is not satisfied with the correctness of this conclusion, let him consult the references given, or what is more conclusive, the original records.

"No power," says Alexander H. Stephens, "is given the Federal Government, or to any of its branches, to coerce the Sovereign States of this Union. Yet Mr. Lincoln exercised this power, knowing it to be unconstitutional. Every one of the half dozen proclamations which he issued, inaugurating the war, was clearly an unconstitutional act. That he was prompted to issue them by mischievous counsellors does not justify the Executive in violating his oath to protect, maintain and defend the Constitution. He called out troops, placed the Southern States under blockade and commenced the war without a tittle of right or authority to do so.

"Had the Southern States declared war against the Federal body? No! They had only seceded from it, which as distinct sovereigns they had a perfect right to do, when they found themselves aggrieved by its action. As Mr. Lincoln could not call this proceeding treason and hang the States that resorted to it as their remedy against an infringement of their consti-

tutional rights, he called it an insurrection—"a formidable insurrection in certain States of the Union which had arrayed itself in armed hostility to the Government of the United States constitutionally administered." This statement was utterly false in every particular. There was no insurrection at that time in certain States of the Union—none whatever. If the people had arms in their hands, it was not to assail a government constitutionally administered, but to maintain their rights and liberties against the insidious or overt acts of tyrants and usurpers.

"Under our system there is no rightful power in the general Government to coerce a State, in case any one of them should throw herself upon her reserved rights and resume the full exercise of her sovereign powers. Force may perpetuate a union. That depends upon the contingencies of war. But such a union would not be a union of the Constitution. It would be nothing but a consolidated despotism." And such was the United States for many years after 1861.

These views had many times been expressed by Abraham Lincoln, and almost every prominent American from Washington down. Why, then, the coercion of the South? Was it not part of a conspiracy of the Republican leaders to force secession on the part of the South, bring on a conflict, destroy constitutional rights and free government, and upon its ruins build a despotism run only in the interest of high tariff, graft and fraud? Such will be the verdict of history.

Miss Tarbell, in her "Life of Lincoln," p. 144, gives an interview of Medill, of the *Chicago Tribune*, in 1864, given her by Mr. Medill, in which Mr. Lincoln said: "Gentlemen," he said, with a voice full of bitterness, "after Boston, Chicago has been the chief instrument in bringing this war on the country. The Northwest opposed the South, as New England opposed the South. It is *you*, Medill, who is largely responsible for making blood flow as it has. *You* called for war until you had it. *I have given it to you*. What you have asked for you have had. Now you come here begging to be let off from the call for more men, which I have made to carry on the war *you* demanded. You ought to be ashamed of yourself." For once "Abe was honest."

It is impossible fully to understand the conditions that existed in 1861, preceding the war, or the conduct of the war

and its results, without understanding the character of the man at the head of the Government at the time. The fact that he has been deified by his partisans at the North since his death, and that their estimate of him is being accepted by many historians, for reasons of interest or timidity, has served only to mistify the facts and circumstances, and prevents the honest reader coming to a just conclusion. "The king can do no wrong—Lincoln was king," is too much the position of many Northern writers.

It is desirable, therefore, to briefly outline the true Lincoln. What of "Honest Abe"?

Was he honest, was he a hypocrite, or was he the weak tool of his partisans? The last we believe to be the case.

Lunt says of him: "The new President was a person of scarcely more than ordinary natural powers, with a mind neither cultivated by education, nor enlarged by experience in public affairs. He was thus incapable of any wide range of thought, or, in fact, of obtaining any broad grasp of general ideas. His thoughts ran in narrow channels. He was inferior of purpose, so far as to be liable to be led by sharper minds and more resolute wills, though, like persons of that character, not unfrequently insisting upon minor points of consideration, whether right or wrong. He was of that class of men who, under color of good intentions, often fail of bringing any good purpose to pass. He had been put in training by the Western Republicans to hold a political contest with Mr. Douglas, in order to become his rival for the Presidency, as manifesting certain eccentricities of thought and expression and occasionally a humorous style of addressing popular assemblies which is taking with the multitude. By a large majority of the people he had never been heard of before his nomination; and it was owing more to their ignorance than to their knowledge of him that he obtained their votes, in obedience to party dictation. He found himself at the head of affairs at the most critical period in the history of the country, and in the midst of dangers and embarrassments sufficient to try the abilities of the most prudent and sagacious statesmen; and it is no wonder that he seldom understood what the situation demanded, and seldom failed to commit mistakes when he acted for himself. His character appears to have been defiled by no great vices, but more than this was requisite in this position. Mr. Lincoln had a

certain shrewdness, but was inoffensive in disposition, and in most inferior stations could scarcely have failed to earn good will. His dreadful assassination threw around him a halo of martyrdom. There could hardly have been a Chief Magistrate in whose case a fate so tragic and terrible could seem more foreign to all his personal characteristics. . . . He was as far from being a tyrant as he was from being a statesman. He was undoubtedly patriotic, and sincerely so, by instinct, habit and sentiment; but his well-known letter to the editor of the *New York Tribune*, overlooking the cause of union in attempting to preserve it, shows that his patriotism was in the manner of those who do not clearly comprehend the true grounds of patriotism, or fully appreciate those objects of civil government which inspire the cordial affection of intelligent and earnest lovers of free institutions. There have been those since his death who have seen fit to compare him with the first great President: but there could scarcely exist a personal contrast more marked than that between his somewhat loosely constituted and indecisive character and the firm texture which distinguished the calm and moderate yet high-toned and sagacious mind of Washington."

It is hard to fully know a man without knowing what he looks like; we therefore give a pen picture of Lincoln by his law partner and devoted friend, Herndon.

"Abraham Lincoln," he says, "was six feet four inches high. He was thin in chest, wiry, sinewy, raw-boned and narrow across the shoulders. His legs were unnaturally long and out of proportion to his body. His forehead was high and narrow, his jaws long, his nose long, large and blunt at the tip, ruddy and turned away towards the right. A few hairs here and there sprouted on his face. His chin projected far and sharp and turned up to meet a thick, material down-hanging lip. His cheeks were flabby, the loose skin in folds or wrinkles. His hair was brown, stiff and unkempt. His complexion was very dark, his skin yellow, shriveled and leathery. His whole aspect was cadaverous and woe-struck. His ears were large and stood out almost at right angles from his head. He had no dignity of manner, and was extremely ungainly and awkward. His voice was shrill and piping. He usually wore an old hat and a faded brown coat which hung baggy on his long, gaunt frame. His breeches were usually six inches too short, showing his big

bony shins; his sleeves were six inches too short, showing his big bony hands. His body was shrunk and shrivelled. . . . The first impression of a stranger on seeing Lincoln walk was that he was a tricky man; his walk showed shrewdness." (Herdon's Life of Lincoln.)

Can we better sum up Lincoln and this branch of our subject than by an extract from an able review of Lamon's Life of Lincoln, by Professor Bledsoe. Bledsoe, like Herndon and Lamon, practiced law in Springfield, Illinois, and like them was Lincoln's daily associate. "When he was nominated for the Presidency, we pondered much and marvelled what this strange thing could mean, and at last we came to the conclusion that it was the design of Providence to put infinite contempt upon the doctrine of universal suffrage." Bledsoe quotes Lamon as saying, 'It has pleased some of Mr. Lincoln's biographers to represent the removal of his father (from Kentucky to Indiana) as a flight from the taint of slavery. Nothing could be farther from the truth.' Tom Lincoln, as Lamon shows, fled from justice and not from slavery. For having, in a low brawl with one Onlow, a mean blackguard like himself, bit off his nose and left his face disfigured for life, he found it convenient to escape from Hardin County and hide himself in the wilds of Indiana. There young Abe, about four years old at the time, was raised, in a little cabin fourteen feet square, made of rough, unhewn logs or poles, and daubed with mud.

"This hole was, literally, a cage of unclean birds. For Tom *Linkhorn*, as he was called, and Nancy Hanks, the father and mother of our hero, were never married, but just lived together like the lower sort of negroes of the State from which they fled. When we heard the late Governor Morehead, of Kentucky, state this fact as well known to Tom Linkhorn's neighbors in Hardin County, we set it down as one of the thousand and one rumors which political prejudice and passion had forged. But it is proved and substantiated by Colonel Lamon in his biography of Lincoln. There the two 'mean whites' lived in this hut, without door or windows, and with no other floor than the naked earth. A bed made of poles, with one end driven in a crack of the house, and the other resting on forks driven into the dirt floor and covered with old petticoats and other rags, formed their only couch. Young Abe, our future President, had to climb to his roost in the loft by

means of pins projecting from the logs of the house. It was adorned with three-legged stools for chairs, and a puncheon with four legs for a table. As for knives and forks, they had not, as yet, taken the place of fingers. It was in such a hovel and amid such associations that the future occupant of the White House was reared and educated until he was twenty-one years of age. He never had the least respect for father or mother—for Tom Linkhorn or Nancy Hanks. On the contrary he always abhorred his reputed father and had no tender feelings for his mother, Nancy Hanks. It is no wonder, then, that he should have become, as he did, a determined and bitter infidel all the rest of his days. Indeed, if he had been required to say the Lord's Prayer, his first words, 'Our Father,' must have made him shudder. 'When he went to church at all,' says his biographer, 'he went to mock and came away to mimic.' This became the confirmed habit of his soul and conduct.

"We think, on the whole, that Mr. Lincoln was 'the right man in the right place.' No man fitter than he, indeed, to represent the Northern Demos; or, as Wendell Phillips has it, 'the party of the North pledged against the party of the South.' For if, as we believe, that was the cause of brute force, blind passion, fanatical hate, lust of power, and the greed of gain, against the cause of constitutional law and human rights, then who was better fitted to represent it than the talented, but the low, ignorant and vulgar rail-splitter of Illinois."

Wherein was Lincoln's greatness and what does the country owe him? We have seen that he, either intentionally or through weakness, brought the war on the country, and Colonel Henderson, the great English writer and military critic, repeatedly affirms that through fear of danger to his capital and interference with the plans of his generals he many times prevented the success of his armies. (Henderson's Science of War.) And another able English writer calls attention to the fact that he was responsible for the brutality of Butler and other officers. He says: "Mr. Lincoln showed his entire approval of the 'Woman Order' (of Butler in New Orleans) by the favor and protection which to the last hour of his life he extended to its author. His warmest admirers observe a discreet silence on the subject; but the impunity of such an outrage would suffice to blacken indelibly a reputation on which there was no other stain. Unhappily this is not Mr. Lincoln's case. The Confed-

erate Government repeatedly called attention to crimes of every kind, outrages upon the laws of nations and of war, from robbery and brutality to women up to cold blooded murder. *In not a single instance* is it alleged that the offenders were censured or punished; but it stands on record that the remonstrances of Lee and Davis were received with sulky silence or returned with insult." (Greg's History U. S., p. 289.)

Mr. Lincoln kept General Butler in command of the Army of the James "for political reasons," against the protest of his General-in-Chief and others, when Butler's unfitness and corruption was known to all. Rhodes says, "Beyond all reasonable doubt he (Butler) was making money out of his country's life struggle," and General W. F. Smith says of him, "I want simply to ask you how you can place a man in command of two army corps who is as helpless as a child on the field of battle, and as visionary as an opium-eater in council." (W. R. 81, p. 595.) Did this indicate greatness in Lincoln? And still General Grant says he was responsible for it.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR.

We have seen that Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address, promised that he would not be the aggressor in a conflict between the States, and that hardly had the words passed from his lips when he commenced hostilities, after rejecting every effort to secure peace, by the South, both in and out of the Union. It is gratifying to Christian and humanitarian spirit to turn from Lincoln to the clear-cut benevolence, charity and love of country contained in Mr. Davis' inaugural address.

"Our present position," he says, "has been achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations. It illustrates the American idea that government rests upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish a government whenever it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established. The declared purposes of the compact of union from which we have withdrawn were to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity for the common defence, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity: and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now comprising this Confederacy it had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, an appeal to the ballot box declared that so far as they were concerned the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion for its exercise they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He who knows the hearts of men will judge the sincerity with which we have labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit and in those rights inherent in it, which were solemnly proclaimed at the

birth of the States, and which have been affirmed and re-affirmed in the Bills of Rights of the several States. When they entered into the Union of 1789, it was with the undisputable recognition of the power of the people to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of that government whenever, in their opinion, its functions were perverted and its ends defeated. By virtue of this authority, the time and occasion requiring them to exercise it having arrived, the sovereign States here represented have seceded from that union, and it is a gross abuse of language to denounce the act rebellion or revolution. They have formed a new alliance, but in each State its government has remained as before. The rights of persons and property have not been disturbed. The agency through which they have communicated with foreign powers has been changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt international relations.

“Sustained by a consciousness that our transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from any disregard on our part of our just obligations, or any failure to perform every constitutional duty—moved by no intention or design to invade the rights of others: anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations—if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. We are doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part and by wanton aggression on the part of others. There can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measure of defence which may be required for their security. Devoted to agricultural pursuits, their chief interest is the export of a commodity required by every manufacturing country. *Our policy is peace*, and the freest trade our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between us and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the Northwestern States of the American Union.

“It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite good will and kindness between them and us. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment and influence the ambition of these States, we must prepare to meet

the emergency and maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have now entered upon our career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy with our late associates, the Northern States, *we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to separation*, and henceforth our energies must be devoted to the conducting of our own affairs and perpetuating the Confederacy we have formed. *If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled.* But if this be denied us, and the integrity and jurisdiction of our territory be assailed, it will but remain for us with a firm resolve to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence upon a just cause.

“It is joyous in perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart, who are animated and actuated by one and the same purpose and high resolve, with whom the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, right, liberty and equality. Obstacles may retard, but cannot prevent their progressive movements. Sanctified by justice and sustained by a virtuous people, let us reverently invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by His blessing they were able to vindicate, establish and transmit to their posterity, and with the continuance of His favor, ever to be gratefully acknowledged, let us look hopefully forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity.”

The Republican party was successful and war was forced upon the South. If its results could have been foreseen, not even the lust and hate of this party would have brought it about. No people ever contended for the right of self government against such odds or made such sacrifices of blood and treasure as the South did in that struggle. Gen. Piatt (U. S. Army) wrote in 1887: “The true story of the late war has not yet been told. It probably never will be told. It is not flattering to our people; *unpalatable truths seldom find their way into history.* How these rebels fought the world never knew. For two years they kept back an army that girt their borders with a fire that

shriveled our forces as they marched in, like tissue paper in a flame. Southern people were animated by a feeling that the word fanaticism feebly expresses. [Love of liberty expresses it.] For two years this feeling held those rebels to a conflict in which they were invincible. The North poured out its noble soldiery by the thousands and they fought well, but their broken columns and thinned lines drifted back upon our capital, with nothing but shameful disaster to tell of—the dead, the dying, the lost colors and captured artillery. Grant's road from the Rapidan to Richmond was marked by a highway of human bones. The Northern Army had more killed than the Confederate generals had in command."

Again he says: "It is strange what magic lingers about the mouldering remains of Virginia's rebel leaders. Lee's very name confers renown on his enemies. The shadow of Lee's sur-rendered sword *gives renown to an otherwise unknown grave.*"

Even Henry Ward Beecher, who did much to bring on the conflict, adds his tribute to our devotion to a true and just cause. He says: "Where shall we find such heroic self-denial, such upbearing under every physical discomfort, such patience in poverty, in distress, in absolute want, as we find in the Southern army? They fight better in a bad cause" [!!! do men ever fight better in a bad cause?] "than you do in a good one; they fight better for a passion than you do for a sentiment. They fight well and bear up under trouble nobly, they suffer and never complain, they go in rags and never rebel, they are in earnest for their liberty, they believe in it, and if they can, they mean to get it." That which made them do these superhuman deeds was the thought embodied in General Order No. 16 to the Army of Northern Virginia, which stirred every heart to victory or death, liberty or extermination. "Let every soldier remember that on his courage and fidelity depends all that makes life worth living—the freedom of his country, the honor of his people and the security of his home." What a blessing to the Federal soldier it is that the Confederate soldier did not know in advance of the days of reconstruction; love of liberty would have been turned to mad fanaticism, and bravery to desperate courage.

"The ability of a people for military exploits," says Dr. Bledsoe, late Assistant Secretary of War of the Confederacy, "depends in modern times, upon two classes of circumstances,

the material and the moral. Among the former, the most important are the numbers of its population, the magnitude of its revenues, its manufactories, commerce and agriculture, and its geographical position. The moral qualities which make a military nation are, natural bravery, love of glory, intelligence, independence, fortitude, and, above all, virtue and devoted religious faith. . . . The first consideration is obviously a comparison of the population and production of the two parties to the late contest. According to the census of 1860 (the year before the contest began), the Northern States and territories had a population of 22,877,000. This aggregate includes a few hundred thousand negroes, but no Indians. The Confederate States had a population of 8,733,000, but of these 3,664,000 were negroes, so that if they are deducted we have only 5,000,000 whites to sustain the struggle against 22,000,000. But we have not yet reached the fair comparison of material strength. The campaigns of 1861 were only tentative; the real 'tug of war' was yet to come, but in May, 1862, the Northern armies were in permanent occupation of all Western and Middle Tennessee" (and the entire Eastern part of the State was hostile in a large measure to the Confederacy, and furnished the North more men than the South), "of nearly the whole of Louisiana, of parts of Florida, the coast of South and North Carolina, Eastern, Western and Northern Virginia. This occupation continued generally to the end of the war. The population thus excluded from the support of the Confederate cause cannot be exactly estimated, but it was certainly more than 1,200,000. Thus the Confederacy bore the real brunt of the struggle with 3,800,000," and it must be remembered that this number was constantly diminished as the Southern States were occupied by Northern troops.

"But the material resources were even more unequal than the numbers. The Confederate States were rather planting than agricultural communities: their customary industry produced rather those things which are the basis of Northern commerce than the wheat, beef, the wool and the horses, which sustain large armies. The North had far the larger portion of the commerce and the manufacturing arts. It retained the national army, navy, arsenals, treasury, government. The South had all these to create in the progress of the struggle. . .

"The decisive circumstance which robbed the South of the

defensive advantage of its wide territory was the superiority of its enemy upon the water. The North retained the use of the whole navy. While the South was chiefly a planting community, the North was manufacturing and maritime. Hence the multiplication of ships and sailors, which continued and increased her naval superiority, was easy and rapid for her. This cause also enabled her, by her blockade, to exclude the Confederates from all foreign sources of supply. The navigable water was therefore all the territory of the North. The ocean and the gulf, which bounded two sides of the Confederacy, belonged to its invaders, furnishing them a cheap and swift way of approach, secure from assault. It made all an exposed frontier and brought the enemy upon it at all times, as though he had embraced these two sides, as he did the other two, with conterminous territories of his own. . . .

"But worse than this, the Confederate territories were penetrated, in nearly every part, by navigable rivers, opening into the sea, which was the territory of the North.

"The difficulties of invasion were also unexpectedly removed, for the North, by the new decision given to the question whether shore batteries could command a channel against ships of war, and this question was answered in the negative for this war. At that time torpedoes had not come into use to any extent."

"The third subject of comparison," says Bledsoe, "the size of the armaments which were put in the field. The actual enlistments in the Northern Army amounted to 2,784,500. The actual strength of their armies at the close of the war is very accurately fixed by the returns of the volunteers mustered out of service. These were 1,034,000. So that adding the regular army we find to 'crush the rebellion' there were 2,784,500 men on land, or one soldier to every two white souls in the Confederacy (soldiers, old men, sick, women, children and cowards), or about four soldiers to every enlisted man in the Confederate army during the war. This vast host was served by one horse or mule for every two men in the field, and 1080 sea and river transports. It was furnished during this war with 8,000 cannon and 12,000,000 small arms. To this we must add the United States navy. This arm employed 126,553 sailors and marines, besides countless mechanics and servants about the naval arsenals. The report of the Secretary of the Navy,

1864, gives, including vessels under construction, a total of 671 vessels of 510,396 tons and 4,610 guns, or with army transports 1,751 vessels and 12,610 guns, or one vessel for 350 Confederate soldiers, one cannon for every 50 Confederates, and 20 muskets and 2 horses for every man in the Confederate army. Against these numbers and reserves what had the South? Mr. Bledsoe says: "The aggregate of all the levies made during the whole war was about equal to the available force present for duty at one time with their enemies, or about one-fifth of the whole number enlisted by the North during the war. If we estimate the Confederate forces effective for duty at any one time by this ratio, we should give them less than 125,000 soldiers in actual service the day their armies were strongest. When we remember that many of their levies were from districts soon occupied permanently by the enemy, to which, therefore, no provost marshal could ever go to reclaim absentees, we might reasonably conclude that the number of Confederates actually in the field at any one time bore a still smaller ratio to the total of levies. But it was impossible for the Confederacy to mobilize for campaigning as large a ratio as their enemy did.

They had the same length of frontier to guard, *and longer, for they had the sea line as well as the land*; they were, therefore, compelled to reserve for garrison and post a far larger part relative to their whole force. Hence, while the North had in the field May, 1864, 620,000, the South had but 125,000 in the several active armies.

"The disproportion of forces and the relative character of the rival armies may also be illustrated by the numbers actually arrayed against each other in several battles. At the critical turn of the first battle of Manassas, the official reports of Generals Beauregard and McDowell show that the decisive grapple for the key of the battlefield was made by 6,500 Confederates against 20,000 United States troops. The Confederates won it. At Sharpsburg 33,000 Confederates repulsed 90,000 United States soldiers. At Chancellorsville 35,000 Confederates beat General Hooker's 100,000.

"In the Wilderness General Lee met General Grant's 142,000 with 50,000, and without accession to this number continued to break the Federal army increased by 60,000 more. In the battle of Winchester in 1864 Sheridan only won a dearly bought victory from General Early by hurling 50,000 upon his 12,000.

In the closing struggle Lee's 33,000 were not dislodged from Petersburg and Richmond until their assailants were again increased to 180,000, and finally, the remnant of Lee's heroic army did not surrender to this enormous host until it was reduced to less than 8,000 muskets." Upon the tombstone of each of this 8,000 should be engraved "Surrendered at Appomattox"—an imperishable honor to the latest generation.

"The Confederate armies," says Bledsoe, "certainly included a class of patriotic soldiers the noblest which this age can produce, under any clime. The class was numerous; it embraced, perhaps, at all stages of the war, a majority of the levies. But there was also a large element of baser metal—men who begrudged their sacrifices for liberty and shirked danger. And as death thinned the ranks of the original armies, this worse material became relatively larger. But the great need of the Confederate army was officers. It never had the leisure nor the skilled officers to organize a thorough army. The population, though gallant, was ignorant of war, by reason of two generations of peace. If their army had been better officered and drilled the result of the war might have been different." (Bledsoe in *Southern Review*. "Science of War," Henderson, 216.)

There is another element of strength possessed by the North which the South did not possess. By means of huge bounties, they were enabled to draw armies from all the nations of the earth, and from the Southern slaves, 494,900 of the former and 186,017 of the latter, besides a small contingent of Indians. The South practically fought with her own sons alone.

Even the whole people of the North, with negroes and the world back of them, were forced to use other methods, which the Japanese of today would scorn. One of them was the incarceration of unarmed citizens taken in the pursuits of civil life, who might perchance either become a soldier, or might aid some soldier, or his family, by his industry.

"Another was the destruction of food and implements of industry among the peaceful citizens. What did it matter that helpless women, little children, old men who had shed their blood in former days for the United States, the poor negroes, innocent in every sense, of the war, might perish of the dire but undeserved doom of famine? History will never disclose the

ruthless and universal diligence of the United States armies in this work of destruction. It was openly boasted that if their generals could not 'crush rebellion' they had enlisted one more all-conquering general—starvation." The sweeping ravages of Sheridan in Virginia under express orders from the Commander-in-Chief, and of Sherman in South Carolina and Georgia, will never be forgotten while history has a verdict to utter. Sherman boasted of having destroyed \$100,000,000 worth of property in Georgia alone, while Sheridan declared that a crow flying across the wasted Shenandoah Valley would be compelled to carry his own rations.

It is sad for reconstructed Americans to recall the barbarities of their fellow citizens, but in defence of their own section and people from the wilful falsehoods which have been uttered against them it is necessary to record the truth on the pages of history. Only a few samples will be given, and they will come from official sources, and refer to men whom the North have selected as their representative great generals by placing monuments to them in our capital city. Whether or not these snap judgments on posterity will prove permanent remains to be seen. We predict that that righteous judge will set them aside with wrath and indignation, consigning them to oblivion.

General Sherman said, "War is hell," and we shall see what he contributed to make it such.

In his official report he says: "We consumed the corn and fodder in the region of country thirty miles on either side of a line from Atlanta to Savannah; also the sweet potatoes, hogs, sheep and poultry, and carried off more than ten thousand horses and mules. I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia at one hundred million dollars, at least twenty million of which enured to our benefit, *and the remainder was simply waste and destruction.*" A soldier writing from Sherman's army to the *Detroit Free Press* says: "At the very beginning of the campaign at Dalton, the Federal soldiery had received encouragement to become vandals. . . . When Sherman cut loose from Atlanta, everybody had license to throw off restraint and make Georgia 'drain the bitter cup.' The Federal who wants to learn what it was to license an army to become vandals should mount a horse at Atlanta and follow Sherman's route for fifty miles. He can hear stories from the lips of women that would make him ashamed of the flag that waved over him as he went

into battle. Where the army had passed nothing was left but a trail of desolation and despair. No house escaped robbery, no woman escaped insult, no building escaped the firebrand, except by some strange interposition. War may license an army to subsist on the enemy, but civilized warfare stops at live stock, forage and provisions. It does not enter the houses of the sick and helpless and rob women of their finger rings and carry off their clothing."

On pages 124-5 of his Memoirs, General Sherman quotes from a letter from the Mayor of Atlanta addressed to him as follows: "Many poor women are in an advanced state of pregnancy, others now have young children, and whose husbands for the greater part are either in the army or dead. Some say, I have a sick one at my house; who will wait on them when I am gone? Others say, What are we to do? We have no house to go to, and no means to buy, build or rent any; no parents, relatives or friends to go to. . . . This being so (they say), how is it possible for the people still here (mostly women and children) to find any shelter? And how can they live through the winter in the woods—no shelter, no subsistence, in the midst of strangers who know them not, and without the power to assist them much if they were willing to do so.

"This is but a feeble picture of the consequences of this measure. You know the war—the horrors and the sufferings cannot be described by words; imagination can only conceive it; and we ask you to take these things into consideration."

To this General Sherman *says he replied*: "I have your letter of the 11th in the nature of a petition to revoke my order removing all the inhabitants from Atlanta. I have read it and give full credit to your statements of the distress that will be occasioned, and yet I shall not revoke my orders." And he did not; the people were driven out and their houses burned.

General Sherman further says (p. 185) that when he reached General Howell Cobbs' plantation he "sent back word to General Davis to explain whose plantation it was, and instructed him to spare nothing."

But Sherman's infamy is not all told. On December 18th, 1864, General Halleck writes Sherman: "Should you capture Charleston, I hope that by *some accident* the place may be destroyed, and if a little salt should be thrown upon its site, it may prevent the future growth of nullification and secession."

On December 24, 1864, (*the day before Christmas*) Sherman replies: "I will bear in mind your hint as to Chaleston, and do not think that 'salt' will be necessary. When I move, the Fifteenth Corps will be on the right of the right wing, and their position will naturally bring them into Charleston first, and if you have watched the history of that corps, you will have remarked that they generally do their wark pretty well. The truth is the whole army is burning with an insatiable desire to work vengeance upon South Carolina; I almost tremble for her fate, but feel that she deserves all that seems in store for her. I look upon Columbia as quite as bad as Charleston, and I doubt if we shall spare the public buildings there as we did at Milledgeville." 2 *Memoirs*, p. 223, 227-8.

In truth he spared nothing at Columbia, but left it a ruin. Of this he says (Vol. 2 *Memoirs*, p. 288): "Having utterly ruined Columbia, *the right wing* began its march northward."

On February 21, 1865, General Hampton writes General Sherman as follows:

. . . "You permitted, if you have not ordered, the commission of these offences against humanity and the rules of war. You fired into the city of Columbia without a word of warning. After its surrender by the Mayor, who demanded protection to private property, you laid the whole city in ashes, leaving amid its ruins thousands of old men and helpless women and children, who are likely to perish of starvation and exposure. Your line of march can be traced by the lurid light of burning houses, and in more than one household is an agony far more bitter than death.

"The Indian scalped his victim, regardless of age or sex, but with all his barbarity, he always respected the person of his female captives. Your soldiers, more savage than the Indian, insult those whose natural protectors are absent." 3 "Great Civil War," p. 601.

Sherman not only burned Columbia, but he lied about it. He says he charged in his official report that it was destroyed by General Hampton, and confesses: "I did so pointedly to shake the faith of his people in him." (2 *Memoirs*, p. 287.)

In his work entitled "Ohio in the War," Mr. Whitelaw Reid says of the burning of Columbia: "It was a monstrous barbarity of the barbarous march," and again, "before his movements began, General Sherman *begged permission to turn* his army loose in South Carolina and devastate it. *He used this*

permission in the full." [These barbarities were supposed heretofore to have been Sherman's, but this shows higher authorities knew of it and approved of it.] "He protested that he did not wage war on women and children. But, under the operation of his orders, the last morsel of food was taken from hundreds of destitute families that his soldiers might feast in needless and riotous abundance. Before his eyes rose, day after day, the mournful clouds of smoke on every side, that told of old people and their grandchildren driven, in midwinter, from the only roofs that were to shelter them, by the flames which the wantonness of his soldiers had kindled. With his full knowledge and tacit approval, too great a portion of his advance resolved itself into bands of jewelry thieves and plate-closet burglars. Yet if a single soldier was punished for a single outrage or theft during that entire movement, we have found no mention of it in all the voluminous records of the march." (Vol. 1, p. 275-479, *Life of J. E. Johnston*, by Bradley T. Johnston.)

With this confession we leave General Sherman, and turn to General "Phil" Sheridan, another whom his country is to honor with a statue in Washington.

On October 7, 1864, he writes General Grant from the Valley of Virginia as follows: "I have destroyed over 2,000 barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements; over 70 mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army 4,000 head of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops not less than 3,000 sheep. This destruction embraces the Luray Valley and Little Fort Valley, as well as the Main Valley. . . . Lieutenant John R. Meigs, my engineer officer, was murdered beyond Harrisonburg, near Dayton. For this atrocious act *all the houses within an area of five miles were burned.*" Lieut. Meigs was killed in a fight (see 9 Southern Historical Society Papers, p. 77).

[*Note.*—It is interesting to note that the ancestral home of Abraham Lincoln's family was among those destroyed, and also that all of Lincoln's Virginia cousins were in the Confederate Army.]

On August 5, 1864, General Grant wrote General Hunter: "In pushing up the Shenandoah Valley, where it is expected you will have to go first or last, it is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage and stock wanted for the use of your command; such as cannot be consumed, destroy." Hunter did what he could, and

Sheridan did the rest. Horace Greeley says: "This order, Sheridan, in returning down the Valley, executed to the letter. Whatever of grain and forage had escaped appropriation by one or another of the armies which had so frequently chased each other up and down this narrow but fertile and productive vale, was now given to the torch."

Nothing can better tell of Hunter's ruthless acts than the following letter to him from one of his victims:

Shepherdstown, Va., July 20, 1864.

General Hunter:—

Yesterday your underling, Capt. Martindale, of the New York Veteran Cavalry, executed your infamous order and burned my house. You have had the satisfaction ere this of receiving from him the information that your order was fulfilled to the letter, the dwelling house with nearly all the furniture and every outbuilding, seven in number, with their contents. I, therefore, a helpless woman whom you have cruelly wronged, address you, a Major General of the United States Army, and demand why this was done? What was my offence? My husband was absent, an exile—he had never been a politician, or engaged in any way in the struggle now going on, his age preventing. This David Strother, your chief of staff, could have told you so. The house was built by my father, a Revolutionary soldier, who served the whole seven years for your independence. There I was born, there the sacred dead repose. It was my house and my home, and there has your niece, who has lived amongst us ever since this horrid war began up to the present time, met with all kindness and hospitality at my hands. Was it for *this* that you turned my young daughter and little son out upon the world without a shelter? Or was it because my husband is a grandson of the Revolutionary patriot and rebel, Richard Henry Lee, and a near kinsman of the noblest Christian warrior, the greatest of Generals, Robert E. Lee? Heaven's blessings be upon his head forever. You and your government have failed to conquer, subdue, or match him, and disappointed rage and malice find vent upon the helpless and inoffensive. Hyena-like, you have torn my heart to pieces, and demon-like you have done it without even the pretext of revenge, for I never saw or harmed you. Your office is not to lead like a brave man and soldier your men to fight in the ranks of war, but your work has been to sep-

² Am. Conflict 6, 10-11. ² Grant's Memoirs 581, 364-5. See for further details Report of Hon. Geo. L. Christain 1891, Confederate Veterans Virginia.

arate yourself from all danger and with your incendiary band steal unawares upon helpless women and children to insult and destroy." (Was it for this reason he was chosen to try Mrs. Surrat?).

"Two fair homes did you yesterday ruthlessly lay in ashes, giving not a moment's warning to the startled inmates of your wicked purpose, turning mother and children out of doors. In the case of the Hon. A. R. Boteler, both father and mother were far away, and any heart than Capt. Martindale's and yours would have been touched by that little circle, comprising a widowed daughter just risen from a bed of illness, her three little fatherless babes, the eldest not five years old, and her young heroic sister. I repeat, any MAN would have been touched by that sight.

"But one might as well hope to find mercy and feeling in the heart of a hungry wolf bent upon its prey of young lambs, as to search for such qualities in the bosom of a Captain Martindale. You have chosen well your man for such deeds; doubtless you will promote him. A Colonel of the Federal Army has stated that you deprived several of your officers of their command because they refused to carry out your malignant mischief. All honor to their names for this at least. They were men; they had human hearts, and blush for such a commander. I ask, who that does not wish infamy and disgrace attached to him forever, would serve under you?

"Your name will stand on history's page as the hunter of weak women and helpless children—a hunter to destroy defenceless villages and refined and beautiful homes, to torture afresh the agonized hearts of suffering widows. The hunter of Africa's poor sons and daughters, to lure them on to ruin and death of soul and body. The hunter with the relentless heart of a wild beast, the face of a fiend, the form of a man. Oh! earth! behold the monster! Can I say, 'God forgive you?' No prayer can be offered for you. Were it possible for human lips to raise your name Heavenwards angels would thrust the foul thing back again and demons claim their own. The curse and the scorn of the upright and manly, the hatred of the true and honorable will follow you and yours throughout all time and brand your name Infamy! Infamy! Again I demand why you burned my home? Answer me as you must one day answer before the Searcher of all hearts, why you added this atrocious deed to your many other crimes.

MRS. HENRIETTA BEDINGER LEE,

Wife of Edmund J. Lee and daughter of Major Henry Bedinger of the Revolutionary Army.

In his report of April 27, 1864, to Adjutant General Cooper, Gen. R. E. Lee, says:

"I cannot conclude without alluding to the destruction of the property of citizens by the enemy. Houses were torn down or rendered uninhabitable, furniture and farming implements broken or destroyed, and many families, most of them in humble circumstances, stripped of all they possessed and left without shelter and without food. I have never witnessed on any previous occasion such entire disregard of the usages of civilized warfare and the dictates of humanity." (Long's Life of Lee.)

It is useless to continue these samples of barbarity. Enough has been given to exhibit the extent to which Americans can fall. Butler's infamous order, insulting the ladies in New Orleans, called forth the "astonishment and deepest indignation" of Lord Palmerston in the British House of Commons. (2 Greeley, 100, 2 Greg's History U. S., p. 287.) In the words of Jeremiah S. Black, "I will not pain you by a recital of the wanton cruelties they inflicted upon unoffending citizens. I have neither space, nor skill, nor time, to paint them. A life size portrait of them would cover more canvas than there is on the earth. . . . Since the fall of Robespierre nothing has occurred to cast so much disrepute upon Republican institutions."

COST OF THE WAR.

The most astounding fact connected with the civil war is its cost in dollars. The following figures have been obtained from the most reliable sources and are believed to be very nearly correct:

Cost of the war to the United States.....	\$3,086,438,635
Confederate bonds lost by the war.....	2,000,000,000
Confederate notes lost by the war.....	500,000,000
Census valuation of property in the South 1860 in excess of valuation 1870.....	2,372,820,179
Bank Capital and Circulation lost.....	112,986,429
Specie spent in Europe during war by the South	18,075,000
Increase of State debts of South during recon- struction	293,020,641
Pensions paid by U. S. since 1865.....	3,127,804,280
Interest paid by U. S. since 1865 on U. S. debt.	2,794,318,623
	<hr/>
	\$14,305,463,787

The debt incurred by States and cities of the South should be added to this, but we have been unable to obtain the amount.

Nothing shows more conclusively the disparity between the North and the South, in the conflict, or its desperate character, than a comparison of the numbers and losses on each side. To indicate the fact that the South did not fight the North alone, the foreign element is also given.

Whites enlisted in the Northern Army.....	2,272,333
Whites enlisted from Southern States in U. S. Army.	316,424
Negroes enlisted in U. S. Army.....	118,017
Indians enlisted in U. S. Army.....	3,530
	<hr/>
	2,778,304

It is claimed by Northern writers that if reduced to a basis of three years' enlistments this would be	2,200,000
Confederate enlistments	605,006

Northern numerical superiority	1,594,994
--------------------------------------	-----------

The United States Army was made up in part of

Germans	176,800
Irish	144,200
British Americans	53,500
English	45,500
Other foreigners	74,900
Negroes	186,017
	<hr/>
	680,917
	605,005

Deduct number of Southern army, making foreigners and negroes in excess of Southern army.....	75,912
--	--------

Southern men in U. S. Army, including those from Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri.....	316,424
Foreigners	494,900
Negroes	186,017

	<hr/>
	998,613
Number in Southern Army.....	605,005

In excess of total Southern Army.....	393,608
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Soldiers from Northern States.....	1,211,387
or just twice the Southern Army.	

See Rept. Sec. Treasury 1904, p. 98. U. S. Census 1860-1870. Cong. Record, 1st Ses. 51st Cong. p. 6566, "Southern States"—Curry. Confederate States—Schwab.

COMPARISON OF THE ARMIES AT VARIOUS PERIODS OF THE WAR.

	<i>Confederate</i>	<i>U. S.</i>	<i>Excess of U. S.</i>
1861		186,751	
1862	289,000	637,122	348,126
1863	343,000	918,191	575,191
1864	238,000	860,737	522,737
1865	133,433	1,000,516	867,083

N. Y. Tribune Letter June 27, 1868. War Records. Letter Gen. Cooper, So. Hist. Papers. Battles and Leaders, Vol. 4, 767.

Chas. A. Dana Am. Encyclopedia (1875) Vol. V. p. 232.

NUMBERS IN BATTLES.

Battles	Numbers		Excess U. S.	Losses	
	Confederate	U. S.		Confed'ate	U. S.
Bull Run.....	18,000	18,000	1,969	3,334 F
Shiloh.....	40,000	58,000	18,000	9,735	13,047 F
Seven Pines.....	39,000	57,000	12,000	6,134 F	5,031 F
Seven Days.....	L T 80,054	107,000	27,000	20,614 F	18,849
Cedar Run.....	21,000	12,000	1,314	2,387 F
Second Manassas.....	T 49,077	73,000	23,921	9,197 F	14,462 F
Sharpsburg.....	T 35,255	87,164	51,909	9,500	12,410 F
Fredericksburg.....	{ H 75,524	120,000	50,000	5,315 F	12,653 F
	{ L 60,000				
Chickamauga.....	71,000	57,000	16,456 F	16,179 F
Nashville.....	39,000	55,000	16,000	3,500	3,000
Chancellorsville.....	{ L 40,000	133,708	78,000	12,764 F	17,287
	{ J 53,303			10,000	
Gettysburg.....	{ T 59,900	93,000	33,100	22,969 F	23,001 F
	{			18,000	
Chattanooga.....	H 33,000	60,000	27,000	6,667	5,382 F
Stone River.....	H 37,712	43,000	5,288	9,500	9,000
Wilderness.....	J 64,000	141,160	77,160	11,000	17,666 F
Spottsylvania.....	H 50,000	100,000	50,000	8,000	18,737 F
Cold Harbor.....	58,000	110,000	52,000	1,700	12,737 F

NOTE. (J) Dr. J. Wm. Jones—Memorial Volume. (H) Henderson's Jackson. (T) Four Years with Lee—Taylor, p. 62-65. (T) W. H. Taylor in So. Hist. Soc. Papers, 6 V., 12 p. (F) Regimental Losses—Fox, p. 541-559. This work of Fox is very reliable and has few mistakes. Those of Livimore and Phisterer are very unreliable, and nothing they say should be accepted without verification. (L) Long, Life of Lee (7 days fight 30000 under Magruder were kept in reserve (p. 170), and should not be counted more than McDowell at Fredericksburg.

(a) Federal prisoners in Confederate hands.....	270,000
(b) Confederate prisoners in Federal hands.....	220,000
	<hr/>
	50,000
(c) Confederates died in Federal prisons.....	26,436
(d) Federals died in Confederate prisons.....	22,570
	<hr/>
	3,966

Percentage Confederate deaths in Federal prisons, twelve.

Percentage Federal deaths in Confederate prisons, nine.

The figures given above, as might be expected, have been violently assailed by Northern writers. We would not attempt to reply to them, owing to the total lack of proof to sustain their criticism, but for the fact that they have been followed by some writers of standing. For their benefit, and for reference of the Southern people, we give the following.

The figure most assailed is the total number of men in the Confederate army.

I. All Confederate officers who know the facts agree in stating that the total number of men in the army was not over 600,000. Among them are Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens¹, Adjutant-General Samuel Cooper², General J. A. Early³, Gen. Marcus J. Wright⁴, Dr. Joseph Jones⁵, General John Preston⁶, Dr. Bledsoe (in *Southern Review*), Assistant Secretary of War.

II. By adding together the Confederate prisoners in the hands of the United States at the close of the war, the soldiers who surrendered in 1865, the killed, those who died of wounds or disease, deserters and discharged, we have a total of 605,006, to wit:

Killed	52,954
Died of wounds	21,554
“ “ disease	59,297
“ “ prison	26,439
“ from other causes	40,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	200,000

(a) Vol. 5 Ex. Doc. 1864.

(c) Stanton's Report, July 12, 1866.

(d) A. H. Stephens, *War between the States*, Vol. 2. *Andersonville Prison*, by R. R. Stephenson.

⁵ Surrendered	174,223
⁶ Held as prisoners 1865.....	90,000
⁷ Deserters	83,372
⁸ Discharged	57,411
	<hr/>
	405,006
	<hr/>
	605,006
III. Again. The Confederate returns show there were enlisted men in the Confederate Army January, 1862	
	318,011
Gen. Preston, Superintendent of Conscription, C. S. A., reports February, 1865, that from February, 1862, there had been	
Conscriptions	87,993
Enlistments east of the Mississippi River.....	72,292
	<hr/>
	478,296
Estimated conscriptions and enlistments west of the River and elsewhere	
	120,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	598,296

The New York Tribune, of June 26, 1867, contained the following table, for a long time supposed to have been the work of Swinton, but now thought to have been the work of White-law Reid, now proprietor of the Tribune, and Ambassador to Great Britain. He says:

"Among the documents which fell into our hands at the downfall of the Confederacy are the returns, very nearly complete, of the Confederate armies from their organization in the summer of 1861, down to the Spring of 1865. These returns have been carefully analyzed and I am enabled to furnish the returns in every department and for almost every month from these official sources. We judge in all 600,000 different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war."

¹ Stephens, Vol. II, p. 630.

² So. Hist. Soc., Soc. Papers, Vol. VII, p. 287.

³ Id. 6 Vol., p. 24. Hist. Soc. Papers XIX p. 254. II, p. 20. Am. Encyclopoedia (1875) p. 232. Chas. A. Dana, Asst. Sec. of War, U. S., Editor.

⁴ His. Soc. Papers, Vol. XX, 114.

"His. Soc. Papers," Vol. XIX, 254.

⁵ Stanton's Rep. Ex. Doc. 39 Congress.

⁶ Gen. Grant, Life of Grant, Mannsfield.

⁷ Report of Gen. Preston—in report Gen. Fry, p. 127.

DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA FROM FEBRUARY 1862
TO FEBRUARY, 1865.

	From Tribune				From other Authorities				Notes of Author- ities
	Comman- der	For Duty	Pres- ent	Present & Absent	1862	For Duty	Pres- ent	Present & Absent	
1862					1862				
Feb.	J. E. Johnston	47687	56396	84225	May	53688			T
June	R. E. Lee					61898	76331	98959	3
July	"	69559	94686	137030	July	56496	78891	119242	4
Sept.	"	52609	62713	139143	Sept.	69500			T
Oct.	"	67805	79335	153778	Oct.	33689	41520		T 1
Nov.	"	79072	86583	153778	Nov.	68033	79595	153778	2
Dec.	"	79072	91094	152853	Dec. 5.	73000	86569	153773	T 9
						78400	90944		T 9
1863					1863	72226T			T
Jan.	"	72226	93297	144605	Jan.	88884		153958	T
Feb.	"	58559	74435	114175	Feb.	58559			T
March	"	60298	73578	109839	May 2	60298	81568	129041	T 9
May	"	68353	88733	133679	May 31	59457			8
July	"	41135	53611	117602	June	41200			T
Aug.	"	56327T	71964	133264	June	74459	88735	133659	5
Sept.	"	44367	55221	95164	July 1	59900			T 8
Oct.	"	45614	57251	97211	July 20		50184	109915	9
Nov.	"	48267	56088	96576	Sept.	44327			T
Dec.	"	43558	57785	91253	Oct.	46497	53995	90055	T 6
					Nov.	48100			T
					Dec.	43400			T
1864					1864				
Jan.	"	35849	45139	79602	Jan.	46651			T
Feb.	"	33811	39562	68435	Feb.	35800			T
March	"	39407	46151	79202	March	39403			T
April	"	52626	61218	97576	Apr. 20	52600	62925	98246	9
May	"	57097	68044	135805	June	54751			T
June	"	44247	58984	146838	July 10	57100	64844	135805	T 9
July	"	62875	82535	177103	Aug.	44247			T
Aug.	"	44247	58984	146838	Sept.	50583			T
Oct.	"	62875	82535	177103	Oct.	45087			T
Nov.	"	69290	87860	181826	Nov.	43225			T
Dec.	"	66533	79318	155792	Dec.	66533			T
1865					1865				
Jan.	"	53445	69678	144627	Jan.	56412			
Feb.	"	59094	73349	160411	Feb. 28	45623	55760	122487	9

NOTES. (1) War Records, S. 1, Vol. XIX, part 112, p. 621.

(2) Id. p. 674, 713.

(3) 127 Id. 822.

(4) Id. 1176.

(5) 128 Id. 615.

(6) Id. 1073.

(7) Id. S. 1, Vol. 19, p. 638.

(8) So. Hist. Soc. Papers, Vol. 6, p. 12.

(9) Long's Life of Lee, Appendix; all returns for "Duty" in 1864 and 1865 are marked blank.

(T) W. H. Taylor, 157, etc.

MEMBERS IN CONFEDERATE ARMIES AT DATES NAMED.

Tribune Table					Other Authorities				
	Departments	For Duty	Present	Present and Absent	Date	For Duty	Present	Present and Absent	Notes of Authorities
1862 June	Northern Virginia..				1861 Dec.	57337			10
	Northern Virginia..	70000	95000	139000	1862 Oct.	52790	71717	139144	a
	S. C. and G.....	19000	25000	31000	April	20463	25159	32170	b h
	S. Va. and N. C.....	17000	21000	27000	Nov.	25040	32434	47400	c b
	Tennessee.....	40000	53000	87000	Nov.	30049	36172	60586	f
	East Tennessee.....	15000	18000	26000	June	13458	16303	24895	n
	Mississippi.....	49000	68000	99000					
	Gulf.....	7000	9000	10000		6765	9127	10018	k
	Louisiana.....					62453	77663	103999	l
	Trans Mississippi...					6882	7233		s
	Total.....	21700	289000	412000					
1863 Mar.	Northern Virginia..	60000	73000	109000	1863 May 2	60238	81568	129041	9
	S. C. and Ga.....	32000	36000	43000	Jan.	28000	34132	47491	d
	S. Va., and N. C.....	45000	53000	73000	May	19630	22822	30757	h
	Richmond.....	6000	6000	17000		6225	10033		h
	Tennessee.....	50000	66000	96000	Dec.	48616	57423	98215	g
	East Tennessee.....	11000	16000	23000		8600	15419		n k
	Mississippi.....	49000	59000	82000		48829	61495	82318	k
	Trans Mississippi...	20000	25000	41000		26009	30389	46021	k
	Gulf.....	8000	9000	10000		7345	10395		k
	Total.....	287000	343000	484000		253552			
1864 April	Northern Virginia..	52000	105000	156000	1864 April	52600	62925	98246	T 9
	S. C. and Ga.....	26000	29000	39000					
	S. C., Va. and N. C.	5000	6000	7000		6000	15419		h
	Richmond.....	7000	9000	13000					
	Tennessee.....	44000	64000	97000		41856			10
	East Tennessee.....	15000	21000	44000		10645	11836	19595	f
	Mississippi.....	15000	20000	34000		16000	20024	35583	q
	Trans Mississippi...	38000	53000	77000		32582		67237	u
	Gulf.....	7000	8000	12000					
	Total.....	209000	270000	443000					
1864 Nov.	Virginia.....	67000	88000	182000	1864 Nov.	43225			T
	S. C. and Ga.....	21000	15000	21000		60334	71854	77366	e
	Gulf.....	3000	4000	5000		12056	14630	21673	e
	Tennessee.....	30000	46000	96000					
	East Tennessee.....	3000	4000	7000		18708	25053	77366	e
	Mississippi.....	15000	21000	38000		3395	3782	7138	e
	Trans Mississippi...	38000	52000	77000		11840	15595	32148	e
	Total.....	176000	238000	443000		30239	43054	74397	e
	Total.....	176000	238000	443000		144910	196016	400000	e

NOTES. (a) War Records, Ser. 8, Vol. XIX, part II, p. 639. (b) Id. 28, p. 486. (c) Id. p. 758. (d) Id. 38, p. 1412-5. (3) Id. 128, p. 10. (g) Id. S. I., Vol. 22, part 2, p. 412, Id. 128, p. 1073. (h) Id. Vol. 128, p. 278, 530, 380, 615, 1003. (i) Id. 127, 1176; Id. 1178, 6380; Id. 128, p. 380; 8 Id. S. I., Vol. 1, 1001, 9; Id. 127, p. 1176. (l) Id. 127, p. 822; Id. 128, 128, 380. (m) Id. 127, p. 270, 1172. (n) Id. 123, p. 339, 336. (o) Id., S. I., Vol. 15, p. 1013. (p) Id. S. I., Vol. 15, p. 792. (q) S. I., Vol. 32, p. 334. (r) Id. 128, p. 380, twp. 6 qt., 1003. (s) Id. S. I., Vol. 15, p. 884; Id. 127, p. 822, 1176. (t) Id. 128, p. 530, 315, 1003. (g) Long's Life of Lee. (10) Johnston, p. 322. (T) Taylor's "Four Years with Lee."

No one can doubt that these records existed at the time this table was made. Had they been published in full in the War Records, as Congress directed, this controversy would have been avoided, but only detached portions appear. If a party to a legal controversy destroys or suppresses evidence important to establish his adversary's case, that adversary is permitted to introduce secondary evidence. In this matter the *Tribune's* copy of the official returns is the best secondary evidence in existence.

It is very important, in connection with this *Tribune* letter, to consider the statement of General Cooper, late Adjutant-General of the Confederate Army (II So. Hist. Soc. Papers, p. 20). He says: "The files of this office, which could best afford this information (as to numbers), were carefully boxed up and taken on our retreat from Richmond to Charlotte, N. C., where they were, unfortunately, captured, and as I learn, are now in Washington." These records, therefore, which contained exact information on this subject, were not destroyed by the Confederate authorities, as some Northern writers have stated, but on the contrary were captured by the United States forces and taken to Washington. Why, then, could not Mr. Reid have seen them, as he said he did? And why was he not telling the truth when he wrote, "I am enabled to furnish the return in every department and for almost every month from these official sources. We judge in all 600,000 different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war." Why, if Mr. Reid is not correct, does not the United States officials publish these records, as they have been directed by Congress to do, instead of denying their existence?

Why did the American Cyclopaedia (1875), of which Mr. Charles A. Dana, late Assistant Secretary of War, quote General Cooper's statement as to numbers without comment, if these records did not sustain him? Dana had been in an official position in which it was his duty to know the numbers in the Confederate armies, and he tacitly admits the truth of Gen. Cooper's statement.

The most far-fetched and unreliable argument on this subject made by Northern writers is that drawn from the population of the South, and the assumption that every able-bodied man in the South was in the army.

One writer affirms: "Substantially the whole military population of the Confederate States was placed under arms."

Another writer says (Fox): "The eleven States of the Southern Confederacy had in 1860 a *military population* of 1,064,193. . . . This number was largely supplemented during each successive year of the war by those who attained their eighteenth year of age, at which time they became liable to military duty."

Fox (p. 552) estimates the number of youths reaching eighteen in four years at 200,000. This we believe to be too large, for many families were scattered, many left the Confederacy, and many were cut off by the United States armies. On this point it may be well to call attention to the fact that by the census report of 1890, the percentage of increase in the Southern States was greatly reduced during the decade from 1860-70. South Carolina, for instance, increased but 0.3 per cent., while from 1870 to 1880 the increase was 41.1 per cent. The same causes to some extent operated to prevent the accessions in the military age.

We have shown that more than one-fourth of the population of the Southern Confederacy was cut off during the first year of the war by the advance of the United States armies. Therefore, if we add to the men of military age in 1861 200,000 of those coming of age during the war, making 1,264,193, we must deduct one-fourth lost from occupation of the country by the enemy, which would leave but 973,145.

Fox (p. 552) says the exempts, in all countries, on account of physical or mental infirmities, constitute one-fifth of the military population; deducting this one-fifth would leave 798,416. We must deduct from this the number of Southern men from the States who served in the United States army, which is given by Fox at 86,000. This would leave 712,000, to which we must add 19,000 men in the Southern army from the border States, which would give us men of military age in the South 731,000. But in addition to this a very large allowance must be made for men necessarily occupied in civil government positions, manufactories, agriculture, *home guards*, preachers, doctors, teachers and skulkers.

It is a mistake to suppose the whole population of the South was in the army. The skulkers were many, to their shame be it said. It is impossible to give the number, but a few extracts from the War Records will substantiate this statement and indicate the extent to which skulking was carried, and the inefficiency of the conscript law. General Cobb writes Decem-

ber, 1864, from Macon, Ga., to the Secretary of War: "At the hazard of incurring the criticism that I have not been equal to the duty of enforcing the conscript law in Georgia, I say to you that you will never get the men into the service who ought to be there through the conscript camp. It would require the whole army to enforce the conscript law if the same state of things exist throughout the Confederacy as I know is the case in Georgia and Alabama, and I may add Tennessee." 129 W. R. 964.

H. W. Walters, writing from Oxford, Miss., to the Department, December, 1864, says (129 W. R. 976): "I regard the conscript department in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi as almost worthless. I believe if the officers and men engaged in it were sent to the field more strength would be added to the army than will probably be afforded by the conscripts who will be sent forward."

Gen. T. H. Holmes reports to Adjutant-General Cooper from Raleigh, N. C., April 29, 1864: "After a full and complete conference with Colonel Mallett, commandant of conscriptions, and on examination of the reports of his enrolling officers in different parts of the State, I am pained to report that there is much disaffection in many of the counties, which, emboldened by the absence of troops, is being organized in some places to resist enrolling officers and persecute and prey upon loyal and true citizens. At present my orders do not authorize me to act, as the reserve force is as yet without organization." And General Kemper, in Virginia, reports December 4, 1864 (129 W. R. 855), that in his belief there were 40,000 men in Virginia out of the army between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, and that the returns of the bureau, obviously imperfect and partial, shows 28,035 men in the State between eighteen and forty-five detailed for all causes.

A very instructive report, made to the Confederate Secretary of War in January, 1864, adds much strength to the statements already given. We find there in six States east of the Mississippi, the following:

Number of exemptions from all causes.....	96,578
Number deducted owing to disloyalty of parts of States	44,200
Number unaccounted for (skulkers).....	70,294
Number available for service not in army.....	126,365

337,437

add If we deduct this number from the men of military age in 1860, 92,000 for those who came to eighteen in four years in these States we have.....

805,500

377,437

468,063

There was in the trans-Mississippi army at that time, present and absent

73,289

541,343

A Northern writer says: "Conclusive evidence on this question (that of numbers in Confederate army) is the record of the census of 1890, that there were living 432,020 Confederates and 980,724 Union soldiers." This statement is not correct, though it has been often repeated.

From the Union numbers have been deducted 53,799 negroes who were in that army, while 3,273 have been added to the Confederate numbers. It is also an interesting fact that at that very time the War Department estimated that there were 1,341,332 living Federal soldiers. That it was incorrect as to the enumeration of Southern soldiers, every sane man in America knows. A report of the Record and Pension Division of the War Department in 1896 says: "It requires but a brief examination of the census figures to show that they fall far short of representing the total number of survivors (of the United States soldiers) in 1890, and they cannot be relied upon as the basis of any calculation for the future."

This census report is instructive, however, as it enables us to refute another false statement, to wit: That the South was inhuman enough to rob the cradle and the grave for soldiers. The report shows that of the surviving veterans of the United States army, 12.52 per cent. were less than 45 years of age in 1890, or under 20 in 1865.

Of Confederates, 11.73 per cent. were in 1890 under 45.

Of the Federals, 1.08 per cent. were over 75 in 1890, or 50 in 1865.

Of the Confederates, 1.36 per cent. were over 75 in 1890, or over 50 in 1865.

It therefore follows that the cradle and the grave were robbed as frequently by one country as the other, and the cradle rather more by the North.

Dr. D. C. Kelly, in a very able article on this subject, says:

"The Confederate Adjutant-General reports soldiers in all the Confederate armies January, 1864..... 481,166
Now if we add the reported casualties..... 284,987

We have total number of enlisted..... 766,141
(There can be no doubt that thousands in the casualty column were also in the other.)

"Not only are these estimates the largest valuation that Confederate patriotism ought to demand, but the largest also that the figures made out by her own officers could allow. . . . Let it be distinctly remembered, however, that the reports from the field which reached him were reports, not of men in camp ready for duty, but of all names found on the regimental rosters. It is legitimate to throw some light on these reports from facts sustained by personal observation. Forrest entered West Tennessee November 15, 1863, with upward of 500 men. He came out December 31 with 3,500 men.

"The 3,000 extra men who accompanied Forrest out of Tennessee were a very large majority of them trained soldiers whose names were on army rosters. Many of them were men who had volunteered originally for twelve months, and having not been allowed individually the privilege of retiring at the end of that time, did not regard themselves deserting. Others had been wounded and were allowed to return home. They remained in hiding among their friends. After the occupancy of the country by the Federal forces, others still had gone home under the necessity of lending help to their families—a duty which seemed to them most urgent. All of these absent from their commands were glad to exchange infantry for cavalry service, with the pledge that their absence from their various regiments would be condoned by attaching themselves to Forrest's command.

"This is but a single example of a class of facts arising in all the territory either occupied by the Federal army or as laid waste by them, that soldiers with families in such territory regarded it as right that they should give personal attention to the very existence of those nearest and dearest to them. I have no doubt that if we take from the 766,000 reported as on the Confederate rolls in 1864 the names of those men who were thus duplicated we will make little mistake in accepting the estimate of 600,000. Especially would this be true if we

sift out the deserters from the conscripts whose names appear on the official rolls. These men were chiefly from the mountain regions and were safe from any means the Confederates had to run them in."

It may be said in confirmation of this statement that nearly all the men in Mosby's command were borne on the rolls of other commands, and it is surprising the extent to which this laxity was carried. In a large measure it was due to the lack of well-trained regimental officers.

We cannot better conclude this branch of our subject than by giving an extract from an English paper (London *Ev. Herald*) upon the downfall of the Confederacy.

"The South is doomed. With the surrender of Lee ends, not indeed the possibility of military defense, still less that of desperate popular resistance, but the hope of final success. After four years of war, sustained with a gallantry and resolution that have few, if any, precedents in history; after such sacrifices as perhaps no nation ever made in vain; after losses that have drained the life blood of the country; after a series of brilliant victories, gained under unequalled disadvantage, courage and skill and devotion have succumbed to brute force; numbers have prevailed over the bravest and most united people that ever drew the sword in defence of civil rights and national independence. To numbers, and to numbers alone, the North owes its triumph. Its advantages in wealth and resources, in the possession of the sea and the command of the rivers, were neutralized by Southern gallantry. In despite of the most numerous navy in the world, half a dozen Southern cruisers drove its commerce from the seas. In despite of its overwhelming superiority in strength of ships and guns, improvised Southern ironclads beat and drove off its blockading squadrons, and Southern cavalry embarking on little river steamers, captured its armed gunboats.

"In defiance of all its power, Southern energy contrived to supply the armies of the Confederate States with everything of which they stood in need. When the war broke out, the North had everything of military stores in abundance, and could draw unlimited supplies from Europe; the South had scarcely a cannon, had but few rifles, still fewer swords or bayonets, and not a single foundry or powder factory. All these deficiencies were supplied by the foresight of the Confederate government

and the daring of the Confederate armies. The routed forces of the North supplied artillery and ammunition, rifles and bayonets, to the Southerners. The cannon which thundered against Gettysburg, the shot which crushed the brave mercenaries of Burnside on the slopes above Fredericksburg, came for the most part from Northern arsenals. No Southern failure is attributed to the want of arms or powder; no Federal success was won by the enormous advantages which the North enjoyed in its favor. If their numbers had been equal, long ago would the Federal government have taken refuge at Boston or New York, and every inch of Southern soil have been free from the step of the invader. Numbers, and numbers alone, have decided the struggle.

“Almost every battle was won by the South, but every Southern victory has been rendered fruitless by the overwhelming numerical superiority of the vanquished. The conquerors found themselves on every occasion confronted by new armies, and deprived of the fruits of victory by the facility with which the broken ranks of the enemy were replenished. The smaller losses of the South were irreparable. The greater sacrifices of the North were of no consequence whatever in the eyes of a government which lavished the lives of hired foreign mercenaries in the knowledge that money could repair all that folly and ferocity might destroy. The South has perished by exhaustion—by sheer inability to recruit her exhausted armies.”

CHAPTER IV.

RECONSTRUCTION.

The war was over. Not an armed organized body of Confederates existed from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. The Supreme Court had held ¹ that the Acts of Secession of the Southern States were null and void; that these States were and always had been States of the Union. The Southern soldier had returned to his home resolved to do all in his power to restore the ravages of war; to forget the past and make his country great and prosperous. But he forgot that his arch enemies still lived; that Charles Sumner still smarted from the sting of the lash applied to his back by a South Carolinian; that Zach Chandler still lived, and that he had said when trying to bring on secession and the war "without a little blood-letting the country will not be worth a damn," and that oceans of blood had not satisfied him; that Thad Stevens still worked for our destruction. War was over, but hate was not dead.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court had held that the judicial branch of the Government would be controlled by the Legislative and Executive in deciding the question when the war was over, and politicians and spoilsmen wished it never to end.

Mr. Lincoln, from the beginning of the war to the time of his death, had proclaimed to the Southern people that the Union was all he wished.² Return to the Union and give up slavery and every other right should be guaranteed. He even advocated paying for the slaves. Without these guarantees the war would never have ended until every man who wore the gray slept in a patriot's grave. But Lincoln was dead; a weak though honest renegade sat in his place, and unbridled hate ruled in Congress.

The Executive would not place the Southern leaders on trial for fear of a too scrupulous judge and jury; but Congress proceeded to degrade and destroy a people—a people of their own blood and kindred—and to place them in subjection to their

¹ *Texas v. White*, 7 Wal.—74 U. S.

² See proclamations of 1863, 1864, 1865. Richardson Messages, etc. of Presidents, Vol. VI.

former slaves, members of the most degraded race on earth. Thaddeus Stevens, with his negro "housekeeper," of course could not appreciate this degradation, but could not impartial Northern white men do so?

The Acts of Congress known as the Reconstruction Acts are recorded in United States Statutes at Large 14, 15 and 16, at pages 428, 73, 416 respectively, and should be read by every patriotic American citizen, for they will arouse his righteous indignation. The veto message of Andrew Johnson, Republican President of the United States, who, though an abolitionist and a Southern renegade, wrote a paper that is an honor to himself and his country.¹ Of course his facts, logic and law were of no avail; the decree had gone forth—the South was to be degraded, ruined and enslaved—and the measures became law notwithstanding the President's veto, to the eternal disgrace of that American Congress.

"I have examined the bill 'to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States' with the care and anxiety which its transcendent importance is calculated to awaken. I am unable to give it my assent, for reasons so grave that I hope a statement of them may have some influence on the minds of the patriotic and enlightened men with whom the decision ultimately rests. The bill places all the people of the ten States therein named under the absolute dominion of military rulers; and the preamble undertakes to give the reason upon which the measure is based and the ground upon which it is justified. It declares that there exists in these States no legal government and no adequate protection for life or property, and asserts the necessity of enforcing peace and good order within their limits. Is this true as matter of fact?

"It is not denied that the States in question have each of them an actual government with all the powers—executive, judicial and legislative—which properly belong to a free State. They are organized like the other States of the Union, and, like them, they make, administer and execute the laws which concern their domestic affairs. . . .

"The provision which these governments have made for the preservation of order, the suppression of crime, and the redress of private injuries, are in substance and principle the same as those which prevail in the Northern States and in other

¹ Messages of the Presidents, Vol. VI, 498.

civilized countries. They certainly have not succeeded in preventing the commission of all crime, nor has this been accomplished anywhere in the world. . . . But that these people are maintaining local governments for themselves which habitually defeat the objects of all government and render their own lives and property insecure is in itself utterly improbable, and the averment of the bill to that effect is not supported by any evidence which has come to my knowledge. All the information I have on the subject convinces me that the masses of the Southern people and those who control their public acts, while they entertain diverse opinions on questions of Federal policy, are completely united in the effort to reorganize their society on the basis of peace and to restore their mutual prosperity as rapidly and as completely as their circumstances will permit. The bill, however, would seem to show upon its face that the establishment of peace and good order is not its real object. The fifth section declares that the preceding sections shall cease to operate in any State where certain events shall have happened. These events are first . . . (Here they are given, substantially the enfranchisement of the negroes and the disfranchisement of the whites.) . . . The military rule which it establishes is plainly to be used, not for any purpose of order, or for the prevention of crime, but solely as a means of coercing the people into the adoption of principles and measures to which it is known that they are opposed, and upon which they have an undeniable right to exercise their own judgment. I submit to Congress whether this measure is not in its whole character, scope and object, without precedent and without authority, in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the Constitution, and utterly destructive to those great principles of liberty and humanity for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic have shed so much blood and expended so much treasure.

"The ten States named in the bill are divided into five districts. For each district an army officer, not below the rank of a brigadier general, is to be appointed to rule over the people; and he is to be supported with an efficient military force to enable him to perform his duties and enforce his authority. . . . The power thus given to the commanding officer over all the people of each district is that of an absolute monarch. His mere will is to take the place of all law. The law of the State is now the only rule applicable to the subject placed under his

control, and that is completely displaced by the clause which declares all interference of State authority to be null and void. He alone is permitted to determine what is rights of person or property, and he may protect them in such way as in his discretion may seem proper. Being beyond State law, and there being no other law to regulate the subject, he may make a criminal code of his own; and he can make it as bloody as any recorded in history, or he can reserve the privilege of acting upon the impulse of his private passions in each case that arises. He is bound by no rules of evidence; there is, indeed, no provision by which he is authorized or required to take any evidence at all. Everything is a crime which he chooses to call so, and all persons are condemned whom he pronounces to be guilty. He is not bound to keep any record or make any report of his proceedings. He may arrest his victims wherever he finds them, without warrant, accusation or proof of probable cause. If he gives them a trial before he inflicts the punishment, he gives it of his grace and mercy, not because he is commanded to do so.

. . . "It is plain that the authority here given to the military officer amounts to absolute despotism. But to make it still more unendurable, the bill provides that it may be delegated to as many subordinates as he chooses to appoint, for it declares that he shall 'punish or cause to be punished.' Such power has not been wielded by any monarch in England for more than five hundred years. In all that time no people who speak the English language have borne such servitude. It reduces the whole population of the ten States—all persons of every color, sex and condition, and every stranger within their limits—to the most abject and degrading slavery. No master ever had a control so absolute over the slaves as this bill gives to the military officer over both white and colored persons. . . .

"This is a bill passed by Congress in time of peace. There is not in any one of the States brought under its operation either war or insurrection. The laws of the State and of the Federal Government are all in undisturbed and harmonious operation. The courts, State and Federal, are open and in the full exercise of their proper authority. Over every State comprised in these five military districts, life, liberty and property are secured by State laws, and the national Constitution is everywhere in force and everywhere obeyed. . . .

"The United States is bound to guarantee to each State a republican form of government. Can it be pretended that this obligation is not palpably broken if we carry out a measure like this, which wipes away every vestige of republican government in ten States and puts the life, property, liberty and honor of all the people in each of them under the dominion of a single person clothed with unlimited authority?

"The Parliament of England, exercising the omnipotent power which it claimed, was accustomed to pass bills of attainder; that is to say, it would convict men of treason and crimes by legislative enactment. . . . The fathers of our country determined that no such thing should occur here. They withheld the power from Congress, and thus forbade its exercise by that body, and they provided in the Constitution that no State should pass any bill of attainder. It is, therefore, impossible for any person in this country to be constitutionally convicted or punished for any crime by a legislative proceeding of any sort. Nevertheless, here is a bill of attainder against 9,000,000 people at once. It is based upon an accusation so vague as to be scarcely intelligible, and found to be true upon no credible evidence. No one of the 9,000,000 was heard in his own defence. The representatives of the doomed parties were excluded from all participation in the trial. The conviction is to be followed by the most ignominious punishment ever inflicted on large masses of men. It disfranchises them by hundreds of thousands and degrades them all, even those who are admitted to be guiltless, from the rank of freemen to the condition of slaves.

"The purpose and object of the bill—the general intent which pervades it from beginning to end—is to change the entire structure and character of the State governments and to compel them by force to the adoption of organic laws and regulations which they are unwilling to accept if left to themselves. The negroes have not asked for the privilege of voting; the vast majority of them have no idea what it means. This bill not only thrusts it into their hands, but compels them, as well as the whites, to use it in a particular way. If they do not form a constitution with prescribed articles in it and afterwards elect a legislature which will act upon certain measures in a prescribed way, neither blacks nor whites can be relieved from the slavery which the bill imposes upon them. Without

pausing here to consider the policy or impolicy of Africanizing the southern part of our territory, I would simply ask the attention of Congress to that manifest, well known and universally acknowledged rule of constitutional law which declares that the Federal Government has no jurisdiction, authority or power to regulate such subjects for any State. To force the right of suffrage out of the hands of the white people and into the hands of the negroes is an arbitrary violation of this principle. The bill also denies the legality of the government of ten of the States which participated in the ratification of the amendment to the Federal Constitution abolishing slavery forever within the jurisdiction of the United States, and practically excludes them from the Union. If this assumption of the bill be correct, their concurrence cannot be considered as having been legally given and the important fact is made to appear that the consent of three-fourths of the State—the requisite number—has not been constitutionally obtained to the ratification of that amendment, thus leaving the question of slavery where it stood before the amendment was officially declared to have become a part of the Constitution.

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“In the first place, it is the only system of free government which we can hope to have as a nation. When it ceases to be the rule of our conduct, we may perhaps take our choice between complete anarchy, a consolidated despotism, and a total dissolution of the Union; but national liberty regulated by law will have passed beyond our reach.

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“Those who advocated the right of secession alleged in their own justification that we had no regard for law and that their rights of property, life and liberty would not be safe under the Constitution as amended by us. If we now verify their assertion, we prove that they *were in truth and in fact fighting for their liberty, and instead of branding their leaders with the dishonoring name of traitors against a righteous government, we elevate them in history to the rank of self-sacrificing patriots, consecrate them to the admiration of the world, and place them by the side of Washington, Hampden, and Sidney. No, let us leave them to the infamy they deserve,*

punish them as they should be punished, according to law, and take upon ourselves no share of the odium which they bear alone."

It is needless to say they did take the odium upon themselves—they did elevate the Southern soldier to the rank of the heroes of the world—for they passed this odious and unconstitutional act over this veto, and desolation and ruin followed.

Several attempts were made to carry the question of the validity of the Reconstruction Acts to the Supreme Court of the United States for adjudication, and when at last it reached that Court, while the Court had it under advisement, Congress by an Act passed over the President's veto, deprived the Court of jurisdiction of such cases. It actually feared the action of its own servile court—a court which had, since the death of Taney, never failed them.

The result of this legislation was even worse than Mr. Johnson predicted. It cannot be better described than it has been by a recent writer. He says: "The slave had been made the ruler of his former master, who was disfranchised and disarmed. The hand of the thief and ruffian clutched at every man's throat. The negroes controlled the State, county, city and town governments. Their insolence grew apace. Their women were taught to insult their old mistresses and mock their poverty as they passed in their faded dresses. A black driver in a town near mine struck a white child with a whip, and when the mother protested, she was arrested by a negro policeman and fined ten dollars by a negro magistrate for insulting a freedman. Thieves looted the treasury of every State and county and taxes mounted until as many as twenty-nine hundred homesteads of white men, many of whom could not vote, were sold for taxes in a single county. The negro and his ally, the carpet-bag adventurer, had attained undisputed control of society through the secret oath-bound order known as the 'Union League.'

"The white people of the South at first scouted the idea that the negro, who had been faithful through the war, could now be used as their deadliest foe in the new order of society. But for the signs, grips, passwords and mysterious blue flaming altar of the 'Union League,' the whites could have held the

Why is the Solid South? Herbert, pp. 25-27.

Dixon in Metropolitan Magazine, Sept. 1903, p. 658.

friendship of their former slaves. As a rule, the ties which bound them were based on real affection. But the League did its work well. By promises to the negroes of forty acres of the land of their former masters, linked with the wildest theories of equality with those who once ruled them, by drill in arms and the backing of trained garrisons, a gulf between the white man and the negro was dug which time can never bridge. Its passions have become part of the very heart-beat of both races."

Such was the result of reconstruction—the return of the men of Bunker Hill to those of Virginia and the Carolinas, whose ancestors marched those hundreds of weary miles to assist them in their struggle for liberty.

But the men of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg could never submit to such a yoke. "As the young German patriots of 1812 organized their struggle for liberty under the nose of the garrison of Napoleon, so these daring men, girt by thousands of bayonets, within a few months had brought order out of chaos. The triumph which they achieved was one of incredible grandeur. They snatched power out of defeat and death, and turned the fruits of victory from twenty million conquerors. Such achievements have never been wrought by arrant ruffians, scoundrels and desperadoes. The sheer moral grandeur of such a deed gives the lie to the assertion." The names of these Southern heroes will forever be coupled on the pages of history with those of the world's greatest patriots—as Mr. Johnson said, with those of Hampden, Sidney and Washington—while those of Sumner, Stanton and Stevens can only be associated in the history of the English people with that of Jeffreys.

Curry says "Horrors of Reconstruction" is no exaggerated phrase. Duplicity, ignorance, superstition, pauperism, fraud, robbery, venality, were in ascendant, made and kept so by Acts of Congress." Mr. Pike, a former Republican member of Congress from Maine, in "*The Prostrate States*," speaks of the military government of South Carolina in 1867 as a "carnival of crime and corruption: the most ignorant democracy that mankind ever saw invested with the functions of government," and characterizes the vileness of the State government by such terms as "morass of rottenness," "huge system of brigandage," "wholesale bribery of members." The last administration stole right and left with a recklessness and audacity without parallel.

"Better work," says Dr. Curry, "was never done for the

negroes than in defeating the policy and purposes of 'Reconstruction.' But for the successful resistance to ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, knavery, the grossest executive, judicial and legislative outrages, there would today be no schools for the negro at the South, no protection to property, no loyalty to the Union."

In the words of Alex. A. H. Stevens, "a comparison between the acts of the two governments during the whole conduct of the war, will forever clearly exhibit on which side in the contest was the higher standard of moral ideas; and with it the higher type of civilization."

SOME INCONSISTENCIES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ITS DEALINGS WITH THE SOUTH.

These are too numerous to be mentioned and would not be referred to but for the fact that they are in almost every instance violations of law, and of the highest law, the Constitution. To commence at the beginning of this part of their history we must refer to the Chicago platform of 1860. This clearly declares the right of "one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another," and this is but a repetition of Lincoln's speech in the House of Representatives on the independence of Texas.

Notwithstanding that declaration, when the South separated by an almost unanimous vote of its people, the Republican party levied war upon them, *conquered* them and treated them as a conquered people, denying them every right known to constitutional and human law, the principles claimed in the Republican platform for our slaves, and carried out the dictates of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens when he said: "I would treat the South as a conquered country and settle it politically upon the policy best suited to ourselves."

Lincoln in his inaugural address said to the South: "The Government *will not assail you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors."

Within ninety days he had marched his armies into the Southern States and become the aggressor.

Southern States in American Union, p. 23. "Solid South," Herbert, pp. 25-27. "The Prostrate States," Pike. "Calhoun," Lamar, p. 71.

On the 22d of July, 1861, the House of Representatives passed a resolution denying "any purpose of conquest or subjugation," but affirmed that the war was waged to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and the rights of the States unimpaired, and that so soon as these objects were accomplished the war ought to cease. In 1867, March 2, the President of the United States said that the war was over, that not a vestige of hostility to the Government remained; but Congress passed an act to the effect "That said Rebel States shall be divided into military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States as hereinafter provided." (14 Stat. at Large 428.) The Constitution of the United States (Art. II, sec. 1) provides that "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress." The Supreme Court held (in *Texas v. White*, 7 Wal.) that the Southern States had never left the Union, but were after the war still States of the Union, and its citizens still citizens of the United States. But Congress, by Act of February 8, 1865 (13 Stat. at Large, 568) provided: "That the States mentioned in the preamble of this resolution (the Southern States) are not entitled to representation in the electoral college." . . . And they were not so represented. Could there be a clearer violation of law or of the nation's word?

The Supreme Court of the United States had said: "The provisions of the United States Constitution, in relation to the personal rights and privileges of a citizen, do not embrace the negro African race in this country at the time of its adoption or who might afterwards be imported who had then been or should afterwards be made free in any State."

"The descendants of Africans who were imported into this country and sold as slaves, when emancipated, or who are born of parents who had become free before their birth, are not citizens of a State in the sense in which the word is used in the U. S. Constitution." (19 Howard, U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 393).

The Supreme Court in 16 Wallace, 36, holds that the negroes become citizens under the 14th and 15th amendments.

Under the Reconstruction Acts of Congress a large part of the whites of the South were disfranchised and the negroes en-

franchised. These acts were unconstitutional and void, and therefore the negroes at the South voted illegally; in fact at that very time every negro at the South was a slave, for Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation was unconstitutional and therefore null and void. And if the Southern States were not States in 1865 they could not consent to the 13th amendment, and Congress could not have declared they were not States. What, then, is the effect of these conditions? The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution could not have been adopted but with the vote of the Southern States, for without this vote the necessary two-thirds of the States (Art. II., Sec. 2, of the Constitution) was not given for the amendments. But these States only consented by the vote of the negroes, who only became citizens and acquired the right to vote by these amendments. (Southern States in the American Union. Curry, p. 219).

The Chicago Republican platform of 1860 declared "That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment, exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the performance of our political fabric depends."

Need I summarize the cases of violation of this statement of "principles"? The whole life of the Republican party, its every act, has been a violation of it.

If Bledsoe, Herndon and Lamon, and others of Lincoln's friends are to be believed, and there can be no doubt of the truth of their statements, Lincoln was an avowed infidel. Is it aught than sacrilege, and does it not stamp him as a blasphemous hypocrite, when he used the following language? "Whereas it is fit and becoming in all people at all times to acknowledge and revere the supreme government of God, to bow in humble submission to His chastisements, to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to pray with all fervor and contrition for the pardon of their past offences and for a blessing upon their present and prospective actions." (Proclamation, Aug. 12, 1861.)

The South has no apology to make for her acts in the past, she thought she was right in 1861 and now knows she was right. If time, truth, reason, justice and law, stand for anything, history can give no other verdict. The South is proud of her cause, proud of her people, proud of her leaders, their wisdom and devotion. They are the peers of any that ever lived. The leaders of the North sink into insignificance by comparison. Can Lincoln compare with Davis; Grant with Lee; McClellan with Jackson; Sherman with Johnson; Sheridan with Stewart? The unanimous verdict of the world answers No. Even the Northern General Piatt says: "The shadow of Lee's surrendered sword gives renown to an otherwise unknown grave"—Grant's!

Thirty-five years have passed since the Reconstruction ended. Thirty-five years of struggle and deprivation to the Southern people, but today we are the most prosperous and contented section of the country. Standing in the grounds of the late Confederate capital, not long ago, a Republican President of the United States, the successor to Lincoln, pronounced this eulogy upon the Southern soldiers and people, and at last we can say justice will be done *us*, *our* leaders, and *our* country. Mr. Roosevelt said:

"Great though the need of praise is which is due the South for the soldierly valor her sons displayed during the four years of war, I think that even greater praise is due to her for what her people have accomplished in the forty years of peace which followed. For forty years the South has made not merely a courageous, but at times a desperate struggle, as she has striven for moral and material well-being. Her success has been extraordinary, and all citizens of our common country should feel joy and pride in it; for any great deed done or any fine qualities shown by one group of Americans of necessity reflects credit upon all Americans.

"Only a heroic people could have battled successfully against the conditions with which the people of the South found themselves face to face at the end of the Civil War. There had been utter destruction and disaster, and wholly new business and social problems had to be faced with the scantiest means. The economic and political fabric had to be readjusted in the midst of dire want, of grinding poverty. The future of the broken, war-swept South seemed beyond hope, and if her sons and daughters had been of weaker fibre there would in very truth have been no

hope. But the men and the sons of men who had faced with unfaltering front every alternation of good and evil fortune from Manassas to Appomattox, and the women, their wives and mothers, whose courage and endurance had reached an even higher heroic level—these men and these women set themselves undauntedly to the great task before them. For twenty years the struggle was hard and at times doubtful. Then the splendid qualities of your manhood and womanhood told, as they were bound to tell, and the wealth of your extraordinary natural resources began to be shown.

“Now the teeming riches of mine and field and factory attest the prosperity of those who are all the stronger because of the trials and struggles through which this prosperity has come. You stand loyally to your traditions and memories; you also stand loyally for our great common country of today and for our common flag, which symbolizes all that is brightest and most hopeful for the future of mankind; you face the new age in the spirit of the age. Alike in your material and in your spiritual and intellectual development you stand abreast of the foremost in the world’s progress.”

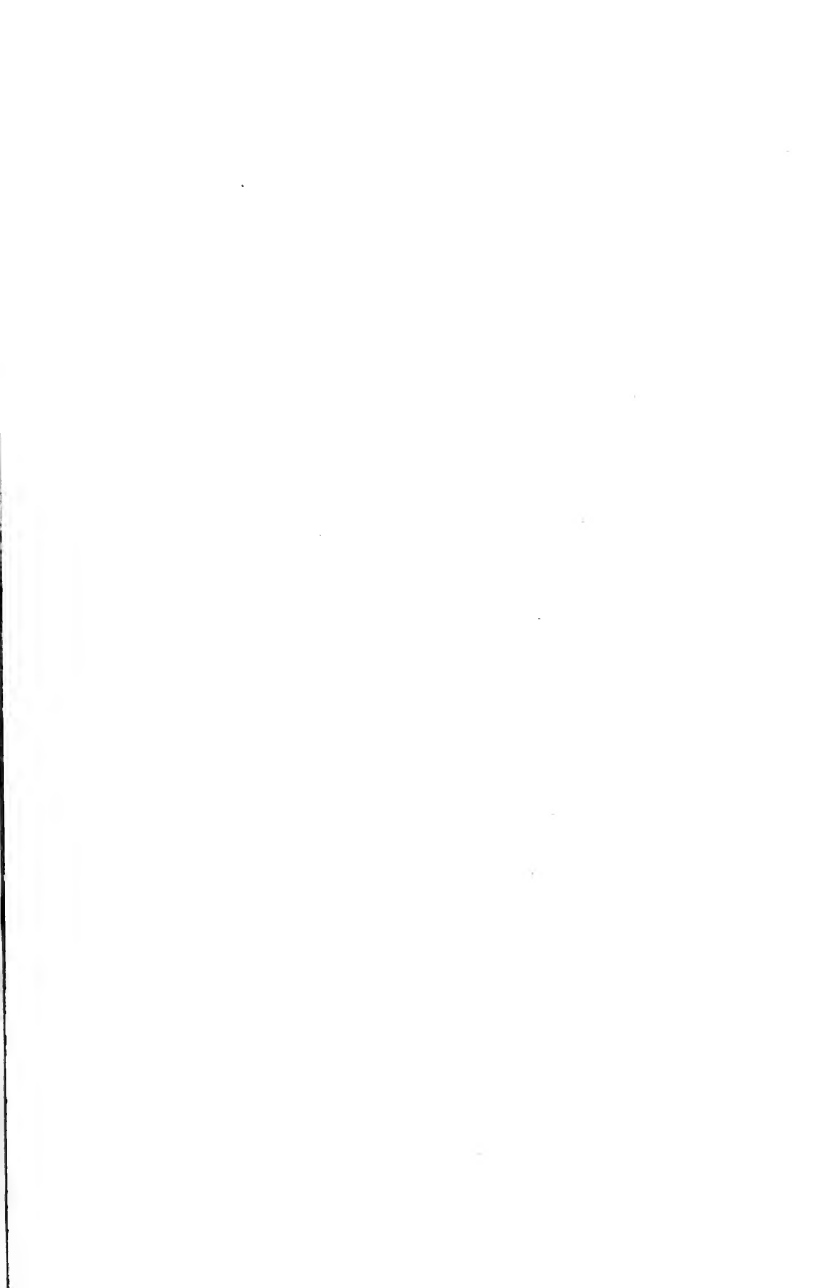
But he is a poor reader of history if he does not know that but for the President’s party there would have been, during the past fifty years, but one flag, one country, one people.

The same man has said: “The world has never seen better soldiers than those who followed Lee, and that leader will undoubtedly rank as without any exception the very greatest of all great captains that the English speaking people have brought forth.”

Such is the record of the Republican party. History must decree it sectional, unpatriotic, and blood thirsty, without any regard for law or justice.









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